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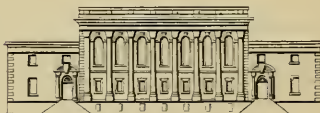
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THE IMMIGRANT IN THE STEEL INDUSTRY IN THE UNITED STATES.

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Submitted as a partial requirement for an A. B. degree
in the interdepartmental major, American Problems, at
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Preface

The purpose of this paper is to give as accurately and concisely as possible a survey of the steel industry in the United States from 1865 to 1930, and to show how, in 1930, the immigrant has fitted into this organization as a factor in production and to offer a study of him as a man in relation to his adopted community.

The foreigner in American industry is perhaps one of the greatest present day American problems. This problem has become extremely important and is one which is found in no other country in the world. Every nation has its lower tenth, people on the lowest rung of the economic and social ladder, but in countries outside of the United States most of these workers are native to their environment.

Although an attempt was made to preserve a clear conception of the immigrant, parts of the picture are necessarily vague due to the lack of material on various subjects. This is especially true in regard to the immigrant in politics and in American recreations, and in regard to the international aspects of immigration. There was also an effort made to discover the part that art and music play in the life of an immigrant, and the effect which he has upon them, but this was unsuccessful. Many times a situation is known to exist but the evidence for it is so scattered that the material is impossible to incorporate into a paper of this scope. There was likewise an effort made to obtain an idea of the effect which a returning immigrant might have on his native country but this subject was not treated to any helpful extent in anything consulted.

In many cases, although examples and conditions referred to do not relate directly to a situation involving the immigrant steel workers, they are typical of this group.

I believe the problem of the immigrant deeply concerns the people of the United States. It is one which cannot continue to be ignored if we are to act in the best interests of our country and people. Racial adjustments are possible, but they can only be reached after we have learned the great lesson of tolerance.

I wish to express my gratitude to the Supervising Committee of the Major in American Problems at Sweet Briar College for the kind and helpful suggestions which all of its members have given me concerning this paper, and especially to Miss Fraser, who has at all times been a most pleasant and considerate adviser.

K. M. P.

Sweet Briar College,
Sweet Briar, Virginia.
April 25, 1931.

1. Feld, R. C., "Review of Racial Factors in American Industry" by Dr. Herman Feldman, New York Times Book Review Section, Feb. 22, 1931.

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Introduction.

It has been said that the impression of an Oriental visiting America for the first time was expressed in the following words, "The skyline of your cities is the monument of your civilization". This statement seems to me, when considered in the light of its possible implications to be of striking significance. First of all it illustrates what is a generally conceded fact, that the skyscraper is our most important contribution to the art of architecture and secondly, that this truly American feature has been made possible only because we have learned how to use steel.

Vast quantities of steel are consumed every year in the production both of small articles and of gigantic constructions. Great amounts have been used for elevated rail roads and for tunnels for subway systems. The Williamsburg Bridge between New York and Brooklyn required 45,000 tons of steel, and every cable of this structure consists of 6,400 strands of wire. The Empire State Building in New York City has risen to an imposing height made possible by the 45,000 tons of steel which were used.

A carpet tack, taken by itself, is an insignificant thing, yet one factory in Chicago produced three million pounds of these in one year. Watch screws, inconspicuous as they may be, cost \$1,600 a pound, and hair springs are valued at twice that amount.

From these few facts it may be seen that steel is the real keynote to our civilization, and that it is of vital importance to us not only because the United States produces about fifty-five per cent of the world's supply, but because of the inescapable organization which steel has created and imposed upon us.

The more human aspects of this organization should be considered also, because there is a human as well as a mechanical element in steel. In 1919 it was estimated that seventy-six and six-tenths per cent of the steel workers were unskilled or semi-skilled, and most of these men were foreigners. These unskilled immigrants who have come from southern and eastern Europe to work in the steel mills of the United States have created what is perhaps one of America's greatest labor and sociological problems; one which suggests a real need for further study.

The Immigrant in the Steel Industry in the United States.

Part I.

A Survey of the Steel Industry in the United States, 1865-1930.

Chapter I.

The Pre-Corporation Period, 1865-1901.

The iron and steel industry at the close of the Civil War can scarcely be compared to the vast organization which we know by that name to-day. At that time local smelting prevailed to a great extent as iron could be found in various regions and the introduction of expensive machinery had not necessitated a concentration of the plants. In the South iron was not even made with mineral fuel, but charcoal furnaces and forges were a common sight. In contrast to the Southern situation blast furnaces were scattered throughout Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio and Maryland and were confined to the manufacture of foundry iron.

These blast furnaces which are in use to-day, are hollow, barrel-shaped structures of masonry, usually about 100 feet in height and 25 feet in diameter at the bulge. It is the work of the furnace to flux out the impurities and leave the iron. The furnace is never allowed to die down but is kept in constant operation day and night until it is worn out, which is usually in about two years. Alternate loads of coke, ore and limestone are carried to the top and dumped into the furnace until it is filled.¹ The blast of heated air is then forced through a dozen or more pipes, which penetrate the walls of the furnace a few feet above the base or hearth, while the feeding at the top goes on. It never ceases. The intense heat, about 2,000 degrees Fahrenheit reduces the mass of iron and lime to a liquid; the limestone decomposes into calcium oxide and carbon dioxide. The latter escapes along with the carbon monoxide and the former unites with the siliceous impurities present to form a slag. The iron being heavier, sinks to the bottom and every three or four hours is drawn off through a hole at the hearth which is plugged after each tapping by a ball of fire clay. In the years immediately following the Civil War, coke was introduced into smelting as a means of heating the air for the blast, a method which enabled the industry to distribute itself so widely that in 1880 iron was manufactured in thirty states.²

When the molten metal is drawn off it is poured into huge ladles or cups holding about seventeen tons each, and after the contents of the ladles from various furnaces have been mixed, the molten metal is frequently run out into troughs of sand where it is cooled in the form of bars called pigs.³

1. See appendix # 1, p. 62.

2. Faulkner, H. U., American Economic History, 1928, p. 574.

3. Warshaw, H. T., Representative Industries in the United States, 1905, p. 32.

In the years 1855 and 1856 a great revolution took place in the iron and steel industry. At that time Henry Bessemer was granted patents in England for the Bessemer converter, which was to be such an important member of the steel family.¹ In honor of his discovery Bessemer was knighted by Queen Victoria.¹ The converter was not used in this country until much later, however, for when Bessemer made application to take out patents here he was confronted by William Kelley, whose claim to priority was upheld by the Commissioner of Patents.

The first Bessemer steel to be turned out in the United States was made at Wyandotte, Michigan, September 1865, although the process did not come into common use until later. In 1866 patents were granted to Jacob Reese for a basic converter lining and the Bessemer Steel Ltd. finally acquired in 1888 the ownership of all of the patents.²

The Bessemer process is simply a means for converting iron into steel. The molten iron is run into a huge, barrel-shaped, wrought iron vessel called a converter, and a cold blast of air is blown through the metal at high pressure to eliminate the carbon. The converter, which swings on trunnions placed at the middle point, is turned into a vertical position and air is forced up through holes in the bottom. The oxygen of the air combines with the carbon and other impurities of the pig-iron and the already intense heat is raised to 3,200 degrees F. or higher. The converter sends forth a roaring noise and a brilliant glow of light, and for eight or ten minutes the iron is cleansed of impurities. A small amount of carbon and manganese is added at the end of the heat to make the desired quality of steel.³ The converter is then tipped to a horizontal position and the liquid steel is poured into a ladle. This ladle is raised by a crane and is swung around to a row of cast iron moulds, six feet high and eighteen to twenty four inches square that stand on trucks on a narrow gage track, and is suspended just above these so that they may be filled from the top. As fast as a mould is filled the tap hole is closed and the train of trucks is shoved along until the next mould is in position. When the steel is cooled sufficiently the moulds are stripped off and the ingot or massive block of steel is treated to give it a uniform temperature.⁴

During the early sixties there was developed in Europe another process of making steel, which is known as the open-hearth method. The first appearance of this in the United States was in 1868 at the Trenton, New Jersey, works of the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company. The patent was granted in England to Frederick Siemens, but it was not until 1888 that the process was used on a commercial basis in this country.

1. Sir Henry Bessemer, Autobiography, 1905, p. 32.

2. Warshaw, H. T., Representative Industries in the United States, 1928, p. 523.

3. See appendix #2, p. 62.

4. Watkins, C. S., and Hunter, M. H., The Background of Economics, 1923, pp. 300-301.

Open-hearth steel is made by putting molten iron in a brick lined furnace, together with the limestone and scrap iron, and subjecting them to the action of air and intense gas flames for six hours or more, until the carbon content is reduced to just the right amount, which can be determined by testing. Since no special grade of iron is required more than 50 per cent scrap iron can be used in making steel by this process as well as that containing as much as ten per cent phosphorus. After about six hours a tap is made and as in the blast furnace the ladles are filled and the slag, which floats on top, runs over the lips of the ladle into the pit below. Ingot moulds are then filled, as already described under the Bessemer process.

In 1888 the plant of the Carnegie, Phipps and Company Ltd. at Homestead, Pennsylvania, was turning out open-hearth steel and in 1890 the Steelton works of the Pennsylvania Steel Company turned to a combination of the Bessemer and open-hearth methods. During the same year the Henderson Steel and Manufacturing Company at Birmingham, Alabama, experimented with this method and was followed by the Southern Iron Company at Chattanooga, Tennessee. In 1891 this company successfully turned out basic Bessemer steel, the first to be produced in the South. By 1890 there were sixty-two open-hearth works in the United States.¹

Organization of Production.

Many of the well known present day steel companies were founded and operated during the years from 1865 to 1901. Among them is the Pennsylvania Steel Company, which was started in 1867 at Steelton, Pennsylvania; the Cleveland Rolling Mill Company at Cleveland, Ohio, in 1868; the Cambria Iron Company at Johnstown, Pennsylvania, and the Union Steel Company at Chicago, both of which were started in 1871; the Joliet Steel Company, Joliet, Illinois, and the Bethlehem Iron Company, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1873; the Edgar Thompson Works of the Carnegie Bros. and Company Ltd. at Bessemer, Pennsylvania, and the Lackawanna Iron and Coal Company, Scranton, Pennsylvania, in 1875.²

Under the regime of competition in which these and other companies were involved, men bid against one another for whatever trade there was in sight. This rivalry became so severe by the end of the century that the smaller companies found it difficult to survive the attacks of the larger firms, since the latter had usually fortified themselves with pools and price agreements. As a result of this situation, a considerable number of consolidations took place, with small companies combining, in some cases, to the extent of a new capitalization of one hundred million dollars.

1. Warshow, H. T., Representative Industries in the United States, 1928, p. 133.
2. Warshow, H. T., op. cit., p. 133.

From this movement the formation of three outstanding concerns resulted, the Federal Steel Company, the Carnegie Steel Company and the National Steel Company. They came into being during the years 1898-1900, and controlled the larger portion of production of crude and semi-finished steel.¹

It was during these same years that the H. C. Frick Coke Company held fully eighteen per cent of the ingot manufacture and that the American Tin Plate Company, by combining with nearly all of the plants in that field, had almost a complete monopoly of that product.

In 1900 the American Sheet Steel Company combined with the American Tin Plate Company, thus controlling the sheet steel production, while several lesser consolidations took place.²

Iron and steel production from 1865 to 1901 had increased greatly. In 1867 3,000 net tons were manufactured and in 1890 this amount had increased to 4,131,535. The net tons of steel rails rolled by American plants also jumped from 2,550 net tons in 1867 to 2,091,978 in 1890. During the year 1880 the production of Bessemer ingots in the United States amounted to 1,074,262 gross tons. This was the first time we had surpassed England in tonnage and ever since we have held the lead. The output of open-hearth steel, increased, although not nearly as much as the Bessemer product, from 1,500 net tons in 1870 to 574,820 tons in 1890. In comparison with this latter figure Great Britain manufactured 1,564,200 tons.³

A noticeable decrease may be seen in United States imports during the latter part of the nineteenth century. In 1881 we imported \$80,000,000 worth, while in 1890 the amount was almost half that much, \$44,000,000.

There was an increase in the market for iron and steel after the Civil War, which undoubtedly helped to further greater production. The building of iron steamships was developing and the first ships of any size were completed in 1871 and two years following by William Cramp and Sons at Philadelphia. There were four of these which had a tonnage of 3,100 tons each. In 1874 two steamers were built for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company for Pacific trade.⁴ Since 1883 practically all of our vessels have been built of steel, thereby increasing the demand for that product. In 1891 both the Bethlehem Iron Company and Carnegie, Phipp and Company were persuaded to build plants to manufacture armor plate to equip American naval vessels that were being constructed.

1. Warshaw, H. T., Representative Industries in the United States, 1928, p. 337. The Federal Steel Company, incorporated in 1898, was a combination of the Illinois Steel Company, Lorain Steel Company, Lorain, Ohio, Minnesota Iron Co., and the Elgin, Joliet and Eastern Railway. It represented 15 % of steel ingot production of the United States, Warshaw, op. cit., p. 339.
2. Combination consisted of American Bridge Company, the Shelby Steel Tube Company and the Pennsylvania Steel Co., Warshaw, op. cit., p. 340.
3. Ibid., p. 338.
4. Ibid., p. 336.

Rails were also in demand during these years due to the increase in the mileage of rail road construction in the United States. In 1872, 905,930 tons of iron rails were manufactured but the year 1883 saw these being superseded by steel ones, and in 1890 the tonnage had fallen to 15,548.¹ Cut nails, an American invention, had reached by 1890 a production of 5,640,946 kegs of 100 pounds each and wire nails followed with 3,135,911 kegs. By 1894 there was about twice the number of wire nails produced as there were cut ones. Tin plate did not get a serious start until 1891 when 6,092 gross tons were turned out. By 1897 home production surpassed imports. This was due to the increased protection afforded by the tariff act of 1890.

By 1895 the United States, independent of the rest of the world as far as iron and steel products were concerned, was seriously threatening the trade of other countries. We had steadily taken possession of markets in Japan, China, and Australia, which had heretofore been supplied by German products, and England was becoming alarmed at the rapid increase in the American industry.

Labor Problems

During the pre-corporation period the hours of employment in the iron and steel industry were long, and the wages low. Unskilled workers during the nineties received on the average of \$1.65 a day and the two shift system, whereby each man worked twelve consecutive hours, was generally in use. The price level at this time ranged from 71 to 76, making this wage worth about four dollars according to the price level of 1924.²

The most important phase of this period, however, took the form of a struggle between the Union and the capitalists. It is here that we see the rise of the powerful financial interests and the decreasing power of the workers.

Prior to 1889 relations between the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers and the Carnegie firm had been invariably friendly, but in January of that year Harry C. Frick who, as owner of the largest coke manufacturing plant had acquired a reputation as a bitter opponent of organized labor, became chairman of Carnegie Bros. and Company. During his first year a dispute occurred between the Union men and the Company and, although an agreement was finally renewed for three years on terms dictated by the Association, the controversy left a disturbing impression upon the minds of the men. During the course of negotiations Frick had demanded the dissolution of the Union.³

1. Warshow, H. T., Representative Industries in the United States, 1928, p. 335.
2. Edie, L. D., Economics, Principles & Problems, 1926, p. 535.
3. Perlman, Selig, A History of Trade Unionism in the United States, 1922, p. 133.

It was in 1892 that the labor movement faced for the first time a really modern manufacturing corporation with practically boundless resources of war, namely the Carnegie Steel Company. The Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers with a membership of 24,068 in 1891 was probably the strongest trade union in the entire history of the American labor movement.¹ But it wasn't strong enough.

In 1892 negotiations were begun for a new scale of payment, but met with no result. On May 30th the Carnegie Company submitted an ultimatum to the effect that if the scale were not signed by June 29th it would treat with the men as individuals. Since there was no agreement made by that date, a strike began upon the definite issue of the preservation of the union. At this time Frick was not prepared to deal with the situation. In an effort to put down the strikers he employed 300 Pinkerton detectives, who arrived at a station on the Ohio River below Pittsburgh about midnight of July 5th. They were put on barges, towed up the Monongahela River to Homestead and arrived there about four o'clock on the morning of July 6th. The workmen, in the meantime, had been warned of their coming, so when the boat reached the landing back of the steel works, nearly the whole town was there to meet them, and to prevent their landing. According to Perlman, feeling ran high. The workers were armed with guns and gave the detectives a real battle. When the day was over at least a half dozen men on both sides had been killed and a number were seriously wounded. Pinkerton's men were defeated and driven away, and although there was no more disorder of any sort, the state militia appeared in Homestead on July 12th and remained there for several months.²

The strike was finally declared off on November 30th, when most of the strikers went back to their old positions as non-union men. The treasury of the Union was depleted, winter was coming and the men were thoroughly discouraged.

This strike, which began in the Homestead, had soon spread to other mills, the chief of which were those of the Carnegie Company at 29th and 33rd Streets in Pittsburgh.³

Defeat in this strike meant the loss of the Homestead plant to the Union and the elimination of unionism in most of the Pittsburgh region. Its power was broken, and the laborer had learned that his strongest organization was unable to stand the pressure of the modern corporation. The loss of the strike drove home to the workers the fact that an industry protected by a high tariff did not necessarily prove a haven to organized labor, and Union members realized that their assistance in helping manufacturers secure the high protection granted by the McKinley tariff bill of 1890 had been to no avail as far as their own benefits were con-

1. Perl^{man}, Selig, A History of Trade Unionism in the United States, 1932, p. 133.

2. Ibid., p. 135.

3. Ibid., p. 134.

cerned. There is no doubt that this created an anti-protective tariff issue in 1892.

The panic of 1893 dealt another blow to the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers. The steel mills of Alleghany County outside of Pittsburgh were all put upon a non-union basis while in Pittsburgh the mills became non-union between 1890 and 1900. There remained to the organization only the iron and steel mills west of Pittsburgh, the larger steel mills of Illinois, and a large proportion of the sheet, tin and iron hoop mills of the country.¹

In 1900 the Union, alarmed at the rumors of consolidation among the steel companies, decided to make another attempt to secure recognition. It realized that in case of a consolidation the Carnegie Steel Company would be first. Since this company was distinctly opposed to any organization of its workers, the men feared that it would insist upon driving the Union out of all members of the consolidation. Also President Shaffer of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers thought that this would be a good time to press for recognition, since the new corporation was just forming and was anxious for public confidence. Accordingly a strike was called and, as the Union had guessed, the corporation, in order to float their securities, could not afford a labor controversy at the time. They agreed to a settlement and the wage scales were to be signed July, 1901. At that time the Amalgamated Association demanded of the American Tin Plate Company that it sign a scale not only for those mills that had been regarded as Union, but for all of its mills. The latter agreed, provided that the American Sheet Steel Company would do the same. Since it refused, a strike was started against both the American Tin Plate Company and the American Sheet Steel Company. In a conference held on July 11th, 12th, 13th these offered to sign for all the mills but one, whereupon their terms were foolishly rejected by representatives of the Union, who demanded all of the mills or none. In August President Shaffer called all of the men working for the United States Steel Corporation to come out on a strike, but by the middle of the month it was evident that the Association had made a mistake. They found the new corporation ready to bring all of its tremendous power to bear against the organization, and although President Shaffer offered to arbitrate the whole matter, the proposal was rejected. At the end of August the strike was called off and the "steel industry was apparently closed to unionsim."²

1. Perlman, Selig, A History of Trade Unionism in the United States, 1922, p. 197.
2. Ibid., pp. 197-198.

Chapter II.

The Corporation Period, 1901-1930. Improvements in the Processes of Production.

In considering the period from 1901 to 1930, the improvements in the methods of production should receive careful notice, since it is through them that we have been able to increase our output and quality of steel.

Excellent as the open-hearth method is, the steel maker has aimed at even better results by using the electric arc. This, which is otherwise called the Heroult furnace in honor of its inventor, emerged from a series of experiments, and is now being used in most of the large steel plants. The Illinois Steel Corporation has two of these twenty-five ton electric furnaces, which are among the largest and the most successful in existence, and the United States Steel Corporation has four.¹

The furnace, which is sixteen feet in diameter, has a plate steel shell one inch in thickness. The bottom is carried on toothed rockers and tracks on which the furnace is tilted to empty its contents. Large gear wheels are geared to a hundred and forty horse power motor, which tilts the furnace by means of a connecting rod. The furnace is lined with three different materials; four and a half inches of fire brick; a lining of magnesite brick, nine to thirteen and a half inches in thickness, and thirteen inches of burned magnesite. The dome-shaped roof, twelve inches thick, is silica brick, and has three equally spaced openings for electrodes. These are carried by horizontal arms that project over the furnace and are adjusted by heavy, vertically moving rods. Copper cables and copper bars carry the current from the adjoining transformer house to the holders that grip the carbon electrodes. The bottom of the electrodes is maintained with a clear spacing of about three-fourths of an inch between them and the surface of the slag. The capacity of the furnace is twenty five tons and the charge consists of all blown Bessemer metal. The current is three phase and the amperage which is automatically regulated, runs from 6,000 to 14,000 per phase. Perfect control at all times, during both the process of refining and chemical reactions, and the possibility of making many sample tests during the heat are among the great advantages of electric refining.²

There have been some minor changes made in the construction of the blast furnaces since 1901 and now we find them made of steel rather than of masonry, with many labor saving devices used, such as the car which carries the raw materials to the top of the furnace and automatically deposits its load without having any men at the top to manipulate the machinery.

1. Walker, H. T., The Story of Steel, 1926, p. 49.
2. Ibid., pp. 49-51.

The utilization of by-products has also been an important step forward. Loss in the by-products of coal was always a serious one, and in 1913 the bee hive ovens in America sent up in smoke more than \$71,000,000 worth of potential goods. To stop this waste, coke ovens have been developed which save everything in the coal and increase the yield in coke ten to fifteen per cent. At the Gary plant of the United States Steel Corporation there are a number of these in two rows. Huge mains have been built along the tops to catch the gasses, one half of which is used to heat the ovens themselves while the rest is used in the open-hearth and heating furnaces of the steel plant. After each ton of coal has yielded seventy-five per cent coke and ten thousand feet of gas, five gallons of tar and twenty to twenty-five pounds of ammonia sulphate or five to six pounds of liquid ammonia are saved. There is also extracted from the gas one and one-tenth to three and seven tenths gallons of benzol and a small quantity of toluol.¹

Organization of Production. The Chief Mills in Operation.

At present the most important centers of iron and steel production in this country are the Pittsburgh and Ohio district, the Chicago, and the Birmingham regions. A concentration of the mills has been a result of a necessary proximity to both raw materials and transportation facilities, and since it takes twice as much coal as ore to manufacture the iron, the mills are usually found near the coal fields. Birmingham, Alabama, is particularly well situated near a mountain which yields both ore and coal.

Another reason for this concentration is the community of interests which has grown up around a blast furnace. During the relatively short period of four years, 1898-1902, numerous consolidations took place. These corporations which were formed tended to establish plants for the utilization of by-products and gradually there grew up what is generally known to-day as the "steel community". Bradock and Homestead, Pennsylvania, are excellent examples of this.

Of all these combinations the United States Steel Corporation was the largest and, since it has exerted such an influence on the whole industry, it is necessary that we understand its organization. In 1901 Judge Elbert Gary was the lawyer selected by J. P. Morgan to handle the legal side of its formation, and the amalgamation was accomplished with incorporation taking place under the New Jersey laws, February 5, 1901. The total capitalization, including bonds, was approximately \$1,402,000,000.

1. The Story of Steel, published by the United States Steel Corporation, p. 26.

The original companies thus consolidated were twelve, and included in addition to the three producers of crude steel:¹ the Bessemer Steel Company, the Shelby Tube Company and the Lake Superior Consolidated Iron Mines. The next year the Union Steel Company was absorbed and in 1907 the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Company.² Morgan, who financed the big combine of which Carnegie was the chief enemy, was keen enough to see that the Carnegie Steel Company must be in the organization. Finally Carnegie, really desirous of selling, but determined also to get a good price turned over his company for \$418,348, 273.³

At the time of its organization the United States Steel Corporation controlled about two-thirds of the crude steel production and from one-half to four-fifths of the production of the finished products. It was an entirely self contained unit, controlling all raw materials and ore transports.

During the first nine months of its existence the profits after the dividends amounted to \$44,000,000. At this time Charles M. Schwab, formerly president of the Carnegie Steel Corporation, had been made president of the corporation, a position which he held until August 4th, 1903, at which time he organized the Bethlehem Steel Company into what has now become the second largest steel combination in the United States. In 1916 it absorbed the Pennsylvania Steel Company, and in 1922 and 1923 the Lackawanna and Cambria companies.⁴

According to some, the United States Steel Corporation is too big for effective work, and it is difficult to find men of sufficient ability and character to head so large a concern. Rhodes says, "At no time has the United States Steel Corporation made steel absolutely or comparatively as cheap as the Carnegie Steel Company just before the combination was made."⁵

On the other hand, Walker seems to think that the combination has proved very successful. In his estimation production has been doubled, wages have been increased, dividends have been paid and the plants have been enlarged and improved. In October, 1919, Gary stated that the properties of the Corporation were actually worth in round numbers \$2,800,000,000., some \$700,000,000. more than its funded and stock capital. In twenty three years the total output had risen from 9,000,000 tons of steel ingots to 20,329,950 tons. During the period from 1901 to 1924 the profits were \$2,106,008,065, an amount which indicates that the corporation is holding its own and needs little sympathy from outsiders.⁶

1. The National Steel Company, The Carnegie Steel Company and the Federal Steel Company.
2. Warshow, H. T., Representative Industries in the United States, 1928, p. 338.
3. Rhodes, J. F., A History of the United States, 1928, pp. 149-150.
4. Warshow, H. T., op. cit., p. 341.
5. Rhodes, J. F., op. cit., p. 151.
6. Walker, J. B., The Story of Steel, 1923, p. 162.

The independent companies not included in the corporation are also important. Collectively they represented at the time of the big combinations, forty per cent and have since grown to about fifty per cent.

Iron and steel and their products in 1928 ranked second among the great groups of American manufacturers, with 20,120 establishments and total products valued at \$9,403,334,000, over one-seventh of the value of manufactures of the nation.¹ In 1923 out of a total of about ninety million gross tons of steel ingots produced, the United States contributed forty-nine million tons or about fifty-five per cent, all but two million tons of which were consumed at home. Of this remaining in the country twenty-five to thirty per cent goes to the rail roads for their many steel requirements such as tracks, cars, locomotives and bridges, about twelve per cent enters into the construction of motor cars and fifteen per cent into the construction of bridges and buildings.² The balance goes into thousands of smaller articles such as surgical instruments, clocks, nails and fixtures.

Our export trade in steel products consist chiefly of tin plate, galvanized and black steel sheets, rails and welded pipes. In 1910 the United States held eleven and four-tenths per cent of the world trade³ in which the United States Steel Corporation played an important part. Almost immediately upon its formation a selling organization was set up to represent in the export field all of the constituent companies of that body. It was known as the United States Export Company, but later on the "Export" was dropped. The offices in the foreign lands were established and managed by men from the corporation's own staff. Now this company ships about sixty per cent of the total American steel going abroad. The only other organization which ever tried to sell steel outside of the United States on anything like the same scale was the Consolidated Steel Corporation, founded under the Webb-Pomerene Act. This, however, was dissolved in 1923.⁴

In 1918 our exports jumped from eleven and four-tenths per cent to seventy-seven and nine-tenths per cent of the world trade. This is explained by the great impetus which the World War gave our industries, especially steel, for as J. G. Butler *unavailingly* says, "It was a war of steel".⁵ Men and food were *without* this product in unlimited quantities and innumerable farms. By May, 1915, war orders came in a veritable food and production reached about eight per cent capacity, while in December the output of pig-iron had attained a rate of thirty-eight million tons per year.

1. Faulkner, H. U., American Economic History, 1928, p. 574.
2. Walker, J. B., The Story of Steel, 1923, p. 162.
3. Warshaw, H. T., Representative Industries in the United States, 1928, p. 234.
4. Ibid., p. 341.
5. Butler, J. G., Fifty Years of the Iron and Steel Industry, 1923, pp. 122-150.

During 1916 steel and iron exports reached a total of 6,102,104 tons and there was an increase in both prices and wages. About this time, the Germans became very disturbed at the amount of iron and steel products pouring into France, and speculations have been made as to the importance of this factor in relation to the attacks made by them on our vessels. Since steel was so important to the Allies and since we were exporting such great quantities to those countries, I am inclined to believe that there was a very real connection between the two.

Be that as it may, when on April 6th, 1917, a state of war was declared between the United States and the Imperial German government, the iron and steel industry, in common with practically all others, enlisted without reservation for the country's defense. A certain fixed price was determined for steel and rigidly adhered to, while the vast resources of the industry were thrown into the struggle. The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy requested Gary to appoint a committee on steel and steel products to aid the government in mobilizing the resources of the country in this line. The amount of steel contributed to the combined armies and navies of the allied countries was not less than one hundred fifty million tons.¹

By 1925 our exports had dropped back to eleven and two-tenths per cent of the world trade. Germany and Belgium had forged ahead after the war and in 1923 their labor cost was but one-fourth of that in the United States.²

Our contact with foreign countries through our steel export trade is a very important chapter in not only the study of the steel industry, but in diplomatic relations as well, since projects of considerable size and importance often arise in that field. A bridge over the harbor at Sydney, Australia, where fifty thousand tons of steel were involved in one contract was finally awarded to an English firm, after a keen contest with several bridge builders from this country. In 1925 a contract for forty thousand tons of galvanized sheets was taken by an American mill to be used in the building of a steel wall to prevent the migration of locusts.³ The salesmen in such projects are engaged in an interesting and keen competition with the manufacturers of England, France, Belgium and Germany. Foreign exchange, ocean freight rates, marine and other items enter into and complicate these transactions.

Gradually the Americans have pushed their way into the coveted markets of the foreign powers. The last rail road in India had American bridge builders on the scene; rail road coaches have found their way from Jersey City into Egypt and electrical cars forged in the foundries of Pittsburgh connect Cairo with the Pyramids. England herself buys American goods, and Sheffield, the home of the steel industry, has been supplanted by Pittsburgh.

1. Butler, J. G., Fifty Years of the Iron and Steel Industry, 1923, pp. 123-150.
2. Warshaw, J. B., Representative Industries in the United States, 1928, p. 344.
3. Walker, J. B., The Story of Steel, 1926, p. 152.

Labor Problems.

The products of the iron and steel industry, broadly speaking, are not generally used by the individual personally. The industry invites no sentimental or friendly interest and its customers are almost exclusively keen business men. These facts cause many of us to overlook the human relationships which are involved in this vast organization. They are there, however, and play a very important part in the history of steel.

The superintendent of a labor force, probably, has one of the most difficult positions in the mills. Whether the employees are of a single nationality or of many races, serious difficulties arise. Where many races are grouped together the problem of language is a dominant one, for the majority of steel workers are foreigners and many of them do not understand English. The Slavs work usually under the direction of a foreman, whose orders they often misunderstand. This non-English-speaking element also requires a larger amount of supervision, hence there must be a greater number of foremen than would ordinarily be employed. These serve to a great extent as interpreters.

An illustration of the necessity of a common language is given by Allen T. Burns in an address, "American Americanization".¹ A friend of his, who was vice-president of a large manufacturing concern, obtained a leave of absence and full pay for a year during which time he was to try to get the workers' view of the question of employment relationships. In one place where he was working he said there was only one thing in all the education he ever received that was of any use to him, and that was Greek. The reason for this was that since the foreman of his gang was of that nationality he did not have to depend entirely upon gestures as did the rest of the gang. Obviously, the maximum of efficiency cannot be obtained from a labor force which misunderstands orders and which requires such close supervision.

Another problem which arises in connection with the laborer is, how long shall he work and how much pay shall he receive? The steel industry has been notorious for its twelve and fourteen hour day. It was not until 1923 that the eight hour day was adopted and even now the two shift system is in existence in some mills. As may be imagined, a man working that many hours a day would have little time for recreation or family life. A typical schedule from the diary of a steel worker at Homestead, made in the spring of 1919, gives us an idea of the monotony which must fill the existence of most of these men. For example:-

"5:30 P.M. -12 (midnight), six and a half hours of shoveling, throwing and carrying bricks and cinder out of the bottom of an old furnace.

12:30 A.M. - Back to shovel and cinder and slag for time and a half hours.

4:00 A.M. - Sleeping pretty general, including boss.

5:00 A.M. - Everybody quits, sleeps, sings and sighs for six o'clock.

1. Burns, A. T., American Americanization, 1923, pp. 16-17.

6:00 A.M. - Start home.
6:45 A.M. - Bathed, breakfast.
7:45 A.M. - Asleep.
4:00 (P.M.) - Wake up, put on dirty clothes, go to boarding house, eat supper, get pack of lunch.¹
5:30 P.M. - Report for work."¹

Another Carnegie steel laborer worked eighty-seven hours out of the one hundred sixty-eight hours in the week. Of the remaining eighty-one, he slept forty-nine, ate another fourteen, and walked or traveled in the street car four hours. During seven hours he dressed, shaved, etc.

After the great strike of 1919 there was an increased agitation on the part of both the workers and the public for an eight hour day in the steel industry. In June, 1923, President Harding wrote a letter to Judge Gary in which he expressed his hopes for a solution of the twelve hour day and his desire that such a question of social importance should be solved by action inside the the industry itself. He further stated that he was convinced that an abrupt change during the labor shortage at that time would cripple prosperity.² This latter point was one staunchly maintained by Gary, who thought increased immigration would remedy the situation, since it would increase the labor supply, and thus make possible a three shift day.

During an interview which some newspapermen had with Mr. Gary, one of the interviewers, Mr. Weeks, asked him whether he thought the reduction of hours would possibly draw a greater number of American laborers, who were at the time unwilling to work on the twelve hour day. Mr. Gary's reply was, "I do not, certainly not". When asked what effect he thought the shorter working day would have on the cost of steel products, he answered that they would be increased about fifteen per cent.³

At any rate, the eight hour day has been adopted by the industry, and has proved very satisfactory. Certainly it is a great improvement over the conditions which Mary Heaton Vorse described in 1922,

"Fifty per cent of the United States Steel employees work twelve hours a day, fifty per cent of these work seven days a week... steel workers work from twenty to forty hours longer a week than other basic industries near steel communities."⁴

1. Douglas, P. H., Hitchcock, C. N., and Atkins, W. E., The Worker in Modern Economic Society, 1923, p. 351.
2. The Twelve Hour Day, collection of letters and an interview, 1923, p. 3.
3. Ibid., p. 12.
4. Vorse, M. H., Men and Steel, 1922, p. 26.

Wages in the steel industry have always been low. The misconception of steel as a high wage industry arises from two chief sources. The first is the existence of a very small highly skilled and highly paid body of American workers at the top. The second is the failure to realize that the amount earned by the bulk of labor is determined chiefly by the extraordinarily long hours, rather than by a high rate per hour.¹

In 1910 Fitch wrote,

"There are a few steel workers, perhaps a score in the Pittsburgh Mills, whose earnings amount to \$15 a day. There are thousands in the steel mills of Alleghany County who receive less than \$2 a day."²

However, there has been an improvement in the wage condition since then. From 1914 to 1929 there was an increase in the average earnings in the steel industry of one hundred twenty per cent, the average for 1914 being 30.1 cents an hour, as compared with 67.4 cents for 1929. The high point of earnings was reached in 1920 when the average was 75.5 cents.³ It should be kept in mind, however, that the price level rose at this time also.

The worker is able to exist on these wages, but it is impossible for him to save much, if anything, for an emergency. Unemployment is always threatening him, for the steel industry is extremely sensitive to the various economic, political and psychological variations of the business cycle. This high degree of irregularity of employment is the subject of more frequent complaint on the part of the workmen than any other condition connected with the industry.

Although accidents have shown a marked decrease since 1914, the steel industry will probably never be a safe place to work, as long as the human mind and hand control the great machines, which seem always straining to get away. Many of the operators are not skillful, some labor under trying conditions, and the strain of work often extends over long hours. The inevitable consequence of these is accidents. According to Atkinson, the per cent of deaths due to accidents and injuries during 1908 to 1918 among soldiers and sailors of the United States was about 12 to 1,000. In the same period it was about 16 to 1,000 with the workers in the steel mills.⁴

1. Atkins, W. E., and Lasswell, H. D., Labor Attitudes and Problems, 1924, p. 65.

2. Fitch, J. A., The Steel Workers, 1910, p. 150.

3. Government Publication #513, 1929, p. 5.

4. Atkinson, H. L., Men and Things, 1919, p. 80.

Diseases among the steel workers are limited to a relatively small group. The most usual are bronchitis, pleurisy, pulmonary tuberculosis and other diseases of the lungs, sixty per cent; influenza, gripe and pneumonia, fifty per cent. Ruptures and infections also occupy a high place on the list.¹

Insurance and profit-sharing plans are comparatively new to the industry, although most of the factories have them in some degree. The Bethlehem Steel Corporation in 1930, paid \$1,009,294 to its employees for sickness and relief, \$473,145 of which was paid to 664 families in death benefits, and \$536,148 to 7,406 participants on account of sickness or non-industrial accidents. The relief plan is in addition to pensions and industrial accident compensations, which are paid for wholly by the Corporation.² In January each year, under a plan inaugurated in 1903, shares of stock of the United States Steel Corporation are offered to the employees upon easy and especially favorable terms. On April 30, 1930, more than forty thousand employees were stockholders under this plan. Their aggregate holdings amounted to more than 186,600 shares of stock of a par value of \$18,600,000.³

The Good Fellowship Club has been organized in some of the mills of the United States Steel Corporation for the mutual help of all its members. It assists in the payment of insurance policies and sends visiting nurses on relief work, who give assistance and instruction for the comfort and welfare of the families of the members.⁴

Factory conditions have also been improved during recent years. According to Taylor, sanitary conditions have been raised to a high standard. A committee on sanitation usually prepares specifications which include regulations for toilets, wash and locker rooms, and drinking water. To avoid infection no wash basins are installed and sanitary fountains, which are periodically inspected, are used exclusively as sources of drinking water. In many plants, restaurants have been established. These are to be highly recommended as they not only enable the worker to get hot, nourishing meals, but ease the home burden of the housewife by relieving her of the daily preparation of the dinner pail.⁵

The United States Steel Corporation, in connection with its welfare work, has done much to encourage garden work among the employees. In the development of community gardens the Company usually plows the ground at its own expense, plots it out, and then offers prizes for the best garden.⁶

1. Brundage, D. K., Diseases Among Steel Workers, 1921, p. 7.
2. New York Times, p. 22, February 10, 1931.
3. Close, C. L., Welfare Work in the Steel Industry, 1920, p. 37.
4. Walker, J. B., The Story of Steel, 1926, p. 149.
5. Ibid., pp. 147-148.
6. Close, C. L., op. cit., p. 6.

The period from 1901 to 1930 has not been without its labor disputes. In fact the greatest steel strike which the country has known took place in 1919 and lasted for three months and a half. It began on September 22nd when 365,000 men quit their places in the mills in fifty cities of ten states and it ended on January 8th, 1920, when the National Committee for organizing iron and steel workers voted to permit the 100,000 men still on strike to return to work upon the best terms they could secure. The Inter Church Report states that the purpose of the Great Strike was to

"...force a conference, this conference to set up trade union collective bargaining."

Mr. Gompers, in a letter to Judge Gary, June 20, 1919, said,

"The American Federation of Labor decided...to bring about a thorough organization of the workers in the iron and steel industry...we aim to accomplish the purpose of our labor movement....TO ENTER INTO AN AGREEMENT FOR COLLECTIVE BARGAINING that is to cover wages, hours of labor, conditions of employment etc."²

Although the strike was a failure at the time, it is generally agreed that it helped to bring about improvements in the industry, i. e. the eight hour day. It proved, however, that the workers were not sufficiently organized and equipped to withstand the decision of their employers. As affairs in steel stand to-day, laborers, as a group, can hardly be said to have any tactics. The workers have no common organization in which they can combine to pursue any policy or execute any plans. The individual deals with the corporation and naturally, in such a case, capital has complete control. The attitude of the capitalists and large stockholders toward unionism may be seen by a statement made by Gary, April 18th, 1921:

"I would not intentionally do an injustice to any labor union leader, nor to a labor union, but I firmly believe complete unionization of the industry of this country as attempted would be the beginning of industrial decay....any plan which seeks to deprive the investor of the control of his property and business, is inimical to the ideas of our country and the public welfare."³

1. Foster, M. S., The Great Steel Strike and Its Lessons, 1920, p. 1.
2. Olds, Marshall, Analysis of the Inter Church World Movement Report on the Great Steel Strike, p. 15, sec. 11.
3. Atkins, W. E., and Lasswell, H. D., Labor Attitudes and Problems, 1924, p. 71.

Part II.

Chapter I.

The Immigrant has always been associated with the iron and steel industry in the United States. At first he was an Irishman or a German, now he is a Pole, a Magyar, an Italian, or another south-eastern European. The name "Tony" has become as familiar around the steel works as was "Mike". The reason for this is apparent. Most of the foreigners who come to our shores are of peasant stock, and are not fitted for anything but agriculture or heavy labor. Because there is a decided lack of extensive opportunity in the former in recent years, due to the disappearance of the frontier, these strangers have turned to occupations such as the steel industry, which is always ready to snatch up cheap foreign labor.

It is noteworthy that the English, Irish and German immigration began to fall off just about the time that the steel industry began to expand so rapidly, and to introduce automatic processes. This created an enormous demand for unskilled labor just as our immigration was shifting from northwestern to southwestern Europe, and the Slavs, looking for that type of work, found it in the steel mills.

Another reason why we find so many Slavs in the steel mills is that they were willing to work for less than the Americans. This, of course, is due both to their ignorance concerning American wages, and to the methods of employment used by unscrupulous men. The "grafting system" which has now been largely stamped out, was one way of employing the unsuspecting immigrant. The foreman in charge of a gang of laborers would have a confederate in the gang itself, usually a Slav who had been in America long enough to know the ropes. If there were an opening for another man, he went to a recently arrived foreigner and told him that he could get him a job. The job, however, was for sale and unobtainable unless a price were paid for it. The newcomer was given to understand that it was the custom to sell jobs in this country and that the transaction was in no way unusual. Fitch says that there can be no doubt that this practice had a great influence on the extent to which the Slav has entered the iron and steel industry.¹

Then, too, the Americans have developed an intense feeling against the foreigners. They feel that to work beside them is to be degraded. They have labeled the newcomers with names such as "hunkies", "daggoes", "wops", and have sought employment in occupations where these immigrants are less numerous. In England steel is made by Englishmen, in our country it is the product of foreign labor.

1. Fitch, J. A., The Steel Workers, 1910, p. 143.

The very nature of the steel industry itself, with long hours, overtime and hard work, has no attraction for the man with an imagination or desire for self improvement. These are some of the various reasons why the south eastern European immigrant is found in the steel industry and has gained such a foothold in the milling towns of our country.

The Slavs, whom we shall consider first, since they are the largest group of immigrants employed in the steel industry, number about four million in the United States, with Illinois, Pennsylvania and New York having about four hundred thousand each. The Slavs, as we know them, represent a number of groups including the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. These people in the United States are for the most part illiterate, unskilled workers.

Of all the Slavic groups, the Poles have come to this country in greater numbers than any other. They began to migrate after the Polish insurrection of 1863, and came in increasing numbers until the World War broke out, when there were about one hundred and fifty thousand individuals arriving annually. The most important waves of Polish immigration were in 1891, 1903, 1907, 1910, 1915 and 1921. About 3.86 per cent of the arrivals did not remain permanently, but returned to their native land. They are a people who love liberty, and who talk passionately about it. At a banquet in New York City a few years ago a Polish patriot declared, "Where liberty is, there is my country!" But a younger fellow-countryman of his expressed it much more accurately when he asserted, "Where liberty is not, there is my country!"³

Although we have framed no immigration bills relating specifically to Poland or any other European country, our recently adopted immigration policy has had a very definite bearing on that country along with the others which contributed to our supply of southern and eastern Europeans.

Until 1917 restriction consisted chiefly in weeding out undesirable individuals such as lunatics, convicts and persons who were likely to become a public charge. Agitation for a revision in our immigrant policy became popular during Roosevelt's administration, but the law of 1907 contained no radical departure from the system already in use. At that time, however, there was a Commission on Immigration appointed, who studied conditions for three years, and who recommended in 1910 that immigration should be reduced with the definite purpose of restricting the influx of southern and eastern Europeans, who had caused such an over supply of unskilled labor in this country. They suggested a reading and writing test as the "most feasible single method" of bringing about this desired restriction.

1. McLean, A. M., The Immigration Problem, 1925, p. 39.
2. Carpenter, Miles, Immigrants and Their Children, 1927, p. 286.
3. Bogardus, E. S., Americanization, p. 215.

Bills containing provisions as to this were introduced twice during Wilson's administration but were vetoed both times. His reasons for not favoring them may be seen in his veto message of January 29th, 1917:

"In most provisions of the bill I should be very glad to concur, but I cannot rid myself of the conviction that the literacy test constitutes a radical change in the policy of the nation, which is not justified in principle. It is not a test of character, of quality or of personal fitness, but would operate in most cases as a penalty for lack of opportunity in the country from which the alien seeking admission, came."¹

On February 1, 1917, the House of Representatives passed this bill over the President's veto, and four days later the Senate did likewise.² This, although it restricted our immigration from southern and eastern Europe to some degree, did not satisfy those who watched with some alarm the number of foreigners which continued to pour into our country annually. An act of May 14th in 1921 set up a quota limitation on immigrants admitted, allowing entrance to three per cent of the number of persons of any nationality who were resident in the United States in 1910. It also provided that not more than twenty per cent of any quota could be admitted in any one month.³

This act of 1921 gave impetus to still greater restriction and in 1924 a "new and permanent" immigration act was enacted. Under this, the number who may be admitted annually is two per cent of the population of such nationality resident in the United States according to the census of 1890, not more than ten per cent of whom may be admitted in any month except in cases⁴ where such quota is less than three hundred for the entire year.

The result of the Quota Act may be seen by the number and source of our present immigrants in comparison with the figures⁵ for past years. Poland has had her quota greatly reduced by both the 1921 and 1924 laws. Although she has no figures for 1914, in 1921 she sent 95,089, and under the 1890 basis she can only send 5,982.⁶ In 1921 there has been a decided falling-off of immigration and in January the departure of aliens exceeded the influx, the Poles being among those who contributed to this condition.

1. Wilson, Woodrow, Veto Message of House Bill 10591, To Regulate the Immigration of Aliens to and the Residence of, in the United States, 1917, p. 3.

2. Jenks, J. W., and Lauck, J. W., The Immigration Problem, 1926, p. 423.

3. Ibid., pp. 448-449.

4. Under this law, immigration from the whole world with the exception of Canada, Newfoundland, Mexico, Cuba, Haiti, Dominican Republic, the Canal Zone and the independent countries of Central and South America is subject to quotas.

5. Northern and western Europe's contribution has increased from 20.18 per cent of the whole in 1913-1914 to 55.7 in 1923-1924, while the reverse is true for southern and eastern Europe, whose percentage declined from 75.6 of the whole in 1913-1914 to 27.2 in 1923-1924, Jenks and Lauck, op. cit., p. 450.

6. Migration and Limitation, Publication of the International Labor Office, p. 56.

As far as could be discovered, Poland has not framed any immigration or emigration laws relative to the United States. She has, however, in order to assist and protect her emigrants, established an Emigration Office, (April 23, 1920) under the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare. This office deals with all cases of repatriation and assists in the transportation of immigrants.¹

Another group, which has contributed labor to our steel mills in large numbers, are the Czechoslovaks, the westernmost division of the Slavic peoples, who are popularly known in the United States as Bohemians and Moravians. It is these who constitute the intellectual vanguard of the Slavic peoples. In 1921 40,884 of these people came to the United States, but after the bill of 1924 was passed, the number was limited to 3,075.

In view of their immigration from districts formerly belonging to Hungary, the population of which has at all times been attracted to America, there has been established under the Minister Plenipotentiary charged with the administration of Slovakia at Bratislava, and also at Uzhorod, under the administration for Carpathian Ruthenia, a special section, whose duty it is to give information to emigrants and to dissipate erroneous ideas, which the inhabitants of those districts may hold with regard to the conditions in America.²

The Jugo-Slavs, or the South Slavs, have come from southern Austria, Hungary, Serbia and the Balkans. Officially they belong to what is known as the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and include the Croatsians, Slovenians, Dalmatians, Bosnians, Herzegovinians, Montenegrins and Serbians. These different names indicate territorial, rather than racial or linguistic divisions, and have replaced the general term, "Serbo-Croatsians".³

These people, who have been characterized as having a rugged strength and a crude morality, have found employment in all of our great steel centers. Due to the recent immigration laws, the number coming to our country has greatly decreased. In 1920 there were 23,536, who emigrated to the United States, but after the 1890 "origins basis" was put in effect only 671 may be admitted.⁴ These Serbo-Croats and Slovenes have established an emigration and an immigration section in the Ministry for Social Affairs, to deal with all questions relating to emigration and to supervise all emigration and immigration services. Separate passports are not delivered to emigrants who are less than eighteen years of age, and the names of such emigrants are, instead, mentioned on the passport of the family with which they are travelling, or of a person authorized by a father or guardian. In the case of every other emigrant under eighteen years of age, no ticket for the journey may be given.⁵

1. Lewis, E. R., America, Nation or Confusion, p. 28.

2. Emigration and Immigration, Pub. of the International Labor Office, 1922, pp. 47-48.

3. Bogardus, E. S., Americanization, 1923, p. 223.

5. Emigration and Immigration, Pub. of the International Labor Office,

4. Lewis, E. R., op.cit., 1922, p. 18.
p. 26.

The Roumanians, who are descendants of the Roman soldiers stationed on the Danube, are physically of the Alpine type like their Slav neighbors but speak a Romance tongue, and have sent a very small stream of immigration to America. The great majority of these came from Austria-Hungary, where they had suffered from the Magyar oppression, and had as their chief destinations Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana and New York.¹

The Bulgarians, who are believed to have descended from a non-Slavic people once inhabiting the neighborhood of the Ural Mountains, are now essentially Slavic in language and customs. Not very many have come to the United States, but those who have come, have located where unskilled labor is most in demand.²

The Magyars, a non-Slavic people, form an important element in the southeastern European immigration to the United States. In 1907 they stood eighth in rank, that is, seven per one thousand of population. Only two Slavic peoples, the Polish and the Slovak, exceed the Magyar in absolute numbers of immigrants, although the Croatian and Slovenian are not far behind them. They, like most of the other groups considered, go to Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio and New Jersey.³ Practically all of them are unskilled laborers, and are peasants who have fled from the oppression of the ruling Magyar class. Morally and industrially their status is higher than that of the Slavic peoples. They are also higher strung, nervous and less adaptable. Hall says that owing to this the best class does not emigrate, and the type which comes to this country is not readily assimilated and does not readily adopt our citizenship. They tend to become "birds of passage".⁴

In connection with the emigration of its people, Hungary has established at Budapest an emigration department which supplies the necessary information and publications of general interest to the emigrants.⁵ Emigration is forbidden in the case of any persons, the expenses of whose journey are paid, either wholly or partly, by a society for colonization, government, or by any private persons.⁶

The Italians, who have come to the United States in considerable numbers, have found employment in many of the steel mills. The term "Italian" is misleading since the nation is composed of many races of different origins. In general there is a distinction between the more or less Alpine type inhabiting northern Italy, and the Iberic elements living in the southern part.

1. Dictionary of Races or Peoples, Pub. by the Immigration Commission, 1910, p. 110.

2. Ibid., p. 28.

3. Ibid., p. 94.

4. Hall, P. F., Immigration, 1908, p. 61.

5. Emigration and Immigration, Pub. of the International Labor Office,

6. Ibid., p. 29.

Under the classification adopted by the Immigration Bureau, "northern Italy" includes Tuscany, Liguria, Venice and Lombardy, and southern Italy, the other states. The northern Italians come of much better stock and are more enterprising, thrifty, and intelligent than the southerners. Practically all of the Italian immigration in the present century, and three-fourths of all that has come, has been from Southern Italy, including Sicily. Living was so poor in that region that reports of high wages naturally attracted the inhabitants to the United States. The chief waves of immigration to this country were in 1891, 1903, 1907, 1910, 1915 and 1921. The states having the largest per cent of the present Italian-American population are New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Illinois.

In Italy the general Emigration Office is the central authority dealing with everything concerning emigration affairs. Although many Italians have left their country, the Italian government is at present, not anxious for more emigration.¹ It seeks information concerning economic opportunities in the immigrant-receiving countries before allowing any emigrant to leave home, and propaganda in favor of emigration by means of handbills etc., is punished under the Italian Penal Code.² Also, any person who procures a person to go, or sends abroad a young person below the age of fifteen for purposes of work, unless this person has been presented for medical inspection and has received from municipal authorities a book containing the regulations of child labor, shall be liable to a fine, and if the employment is detrimental to the health of the person under fifteen years of age, the person sending him shall be liable to imprisonment.

1. MacLean, The Immigration Problem, 1925, p. 39.

2. Emigration and Immigration, Pub. of the International Labor Office,

3. Ibid., p. 49.

Part II.

Chapter II.

The Immigrant at Work.

As has been said, (page 17) a large proportion of workers in the steel mills are immigrants.¹ There are the Poles, Magyars, Slovaks, Croations, Italians and others whose labor, such as handling steel billets and bars, loading trains and working in the cinder pits, is the heaviest and roughest. The majority of them are found in the blast furnaces, although there are many in both the Bessemer and open-hearth departments. The immigrants, in short, form the great mass of unskilled labor in the iron and steel mills of the United States.

The work in these mills is strenuous and the hours are long. In the blast furnace the average hours of labor per week were sixty and seven-tenths in 1929,² and relief systems which have been generally adopted allow each employee one day of rest during each three week cycle, thereby making the working time during three weeks six days, seven days, seven days.³ In 1929 fifty-four per cent of all employees in the blast furnace were working on this basis. The average hours a week in 1929 for a Bessemer converter employee showed that forty-three per cent of the employees had a week of forty-eight hours or less and no one had a week of as many as seventy-two hours. This, however, after investigation shows that the decrease in hours, as compared with previous years, is due in most cases to the small number of men working seven days a week. In the open-hearth department the average hours of work a week were fifty-seven and one-tenth.⁴

The pay which the worker now receives in the blast furnace ranges from 91.8 cents for blowers to 37.3 for laborers. Needless to say, the latter are much more numerous and compose the class with which this study is chiefly concerned. The average earnings in 1929 were 52.8 cents an hour.⁵ In the Bessemer converter department the earnings range from \$1.30 for blowers to 45.2 cents for the laborers, with all employees in both skilled and unskilled positions averaging 64.3 cents and hour.⁶ The open-hearth department shows the highest average earnings per hour, 71.4 cents, although unskilled labor receives about 55 cents an hour. As has already been pointed out, the hours and wages in the iron and steel industry have been greatly improved in the last ten years but there is still much to be desired for the mass of workers.

1. Three hundred twenty-eight thousand, eight hundred as compared with about two hundred ninety thousand native whites, ninety-seven thousand of whom have foreign or mixed parentage. Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, vol. 346.
2. Wages and Hours of Labor in the Iron and Steel Industry, Government Pub. # 513, 1929, p. 30.
3. Ibid., p. 31.
4. Ibid., p. 68.
5. Wages and Hours in the Iron and Steel Industry, Government Publication, # 513, 1929, p. 32.
6. Ibid., p. 5.

The product which they produce is of almost incalculable value, and yet what do they get out of it? They have no comforts of life as judged by our standards, and many are forced to live in houses near the mills, as they cannot afford carfare to get back and forth from work. The minimum subsistence wage is set at \$1,300 but the great majority of steel workers receive about \$900 or \$1,000 a year. This necessarily limits them to certain conditions in life which will be discussed later.

The hazards in the steel mills are great.¹ One hears about the men who fall into the molten metal and become part of the frame work for skyscrapers. There is also a legend about a bell which would not ring true because a human being had slipped and fallen into the liquid steel just before it was cast. Some of the mills in the Pittsburgh district are known as "suicide plants", where man is nothing compared to the great machines. All of these things prey upon the worker's mind, yet he goes about his toil with an indifferent carelessness. Familiarity with danger seems to breed a contempt of it.

Most of the accidents are caused by the crane in its various forms and conditions of action, and injuries due to hot substances have a high rate. However, the installation of safeguards on dangerous machinery has helped to eliminate many dangers which had previously resulted in injuries. The falling of loads and asphyxiation account for a number of fatalities. The latter is usually a result of a "hang" followed by a "slip". The mass of coke, ore and limestone put into the top of the furnace often sticks to the sides in the process of reduction. This is called a hang. Then it loosens and drops suddenly. This is called a slip. Compensation for accidents has been adopted by all of the steel mills studied, in accordance with the workman's compensation laws, which have been enacted by various states. The provisions of these vary in detail with the location, but the main outlines are the same, and thousands of employees benefit by them yearly.

In the Bethlehem Steel Company, thirteen committees are provided to which disputes concerning wages, hours, safety, employment, education, sanitation, etc., are submitted. From these committees any case not settled goes to a general joint committee from which appeals are taken to the president of the Company. In connection with the understanding of offenses the Cambria Steel Company has a list of those who merit discharge without notice, and another for which dismissal may come only after a warning. Provision is made through the machinery of the committees for appeals by any discharged employee.²

1. Accidents per one million hours' exposure; 1920, machinery - 3.3; handling of tools and materials - 10.4; cranes - 1.9; hot substances - 2.4; falls of persons - 2.5.
Atkins, W. E., and Iasswell, H. D., Labor Attitudes and Problems, 1924, p. 61.

2. Leiserson, W. M., Adjusting the Immigrant and Industry, 1924, p. 163.

Pension plans to care for the disabled and aged employees have also been established. In the case of one of the larger companies employing 220,000 men it might be said as an example that pensions were granted in 1927 to 1,175 retired employees and at the close of that year 6,388 names were on pension rolls. Of the 1,175 the average age was thirty-two years. In 1926 this same corporation had one hundred fifty-seven employees who had been in the service of this company for fifty years or more, five hundred twenty-nine for forty-five years, 1,672 for forty years, 3,868 for thirty-five years, 6,224 for thirty years and 10,417 for twenty-five years.³

By joint action of the United States Steel Corporation and Mr. Andrew Carnegie, the United States Steel and Carnegie Pension Fund was established in 1910. Its purpose is the payment of employees of old age from the income of the fund, the principal of which is twelve million dollars. This is administered by the board and the pensions range from twelve dollars to a hundred dollars a month.² Although these pensions undoubtedly aid many people, I do not think that they have been any great benefit to the immigrant workman, who is successively employed in different mills without establishing any permanent place of work. Then too, in case of a slump, these men, since they form the bulk of the unskilled labor, are the first to be laid off. This is not conducive to creating a permanent interest in a company.

The stock sharing plans, which have been mentioned, likewise do not reach the mass of unskilled immigrant workmen, whose wages are not high enough to encourage investment, and many who might save out a few dollars, are distrustful of the plan. It is to be hoped that in the future these foreigners will be able to take advantage of some of these benefits.

"Some one has described a steel mill as a modern materialization of Dante's 'Inferno',³ says Atkinson, and so it seems when one watches the flaming sky above the steel centers at night as the manufacturing goes on in the mills. When we visit one of these factories we "Step out of a world of reality into the semi-reality of a new, unknown world. Men work stripped to the waist and long ribbons of steel writhe and twist about the length of the room. The jangle of chains mingles with the creaking of machinery above our heads. The sparks fly, and a bluish haze hovers about the heads of the men, as they move back and forth as gnomes in the unnatural light of the place."⁴

Indeed, a steel mill is not the most pleasant place to work, although many improvements have taken place. There is usually a Sanitation Committee which prepares specifications concerning general sanitary requirements. This committee also investigates and improves the heating, ventilation and lighting systems in the plants. Care is also taken to have pure drinking water available for the workers and the common drinking cup has been practically eliminated through the installation of sanitary drinking fountains.⁵

1. Taylor, M., The Iron and Steel Industry, 1928, p. 20.

2. Close, C. L., Welfare Work in the Iron and Steel Industry, 1920, p. 42.

3. Atkinson, H. A., Men and Things, 1918, p. 84.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

5. Close, C. L., op. cit., pp. 13-16.

Theories Relative to the Immigrant.

The immigrant who comes to the United States from southern and eastern Europe has caused no little comment among theorists as to just what effect he has had upon American labor, both economically and racially. On one side, the advocates of one hundred per cent Americanism condemn these foreigners with their low standard of living, who have invaded our shores. The immigrants, they say, have caused a decline in everything from the native birth rate to bath tubs per capita, and are a positive menace to our democratic institutions. But there are always two sides to every question, and there are those who likewise insist that we are no worse, if not better, for having these strangers among us.

The immigrant colony, familiar to most of us, is a veritable thorn in the flesh of those who are concerned over the status quo of the American standard of living. The existence of these immigrants, with their ignorance concerning the proper measures for health and sanitation, is held by some to a serious danger to the native born portion of our industrial communities. Since the immigrant does live under these conditions he can afford to work for lower wages, and because the amount of alien labor is so abundant and so easily available, the standard of pay in unskilled occupations is set by the amount for which they are willing to work.¹

Many people, although they do not think that immigration has absolutely lowered the wages and the American workman's standard of living, do say that it has certainly kept them from rising to the level that they would otherwise have attained. Professor Taussig says,

"The position of common laborers in the United States (that is in the northern and western states) has been kept at its low level only by the continued flow of immigrants.... These constant new arrivals have kept down the wages of the lowest group and have accentuated also, the lines of social demarcation between this group and others."²

Hourwich claims, however, that.. "the new immigrants do not compete with the natives and older immigrant workmen, and cannot therefore, affect their wages".³ The iron and steel mills he says, are instances where the immigrants are believed to have forced out the native laborer. He thinks this is an erroneous opinion, because in the earlier period of the industry, when immigration from southern and eastern Europe was negligible, the number of American employees increased very slowly, but during the recent period the number of American born employees of every nativity has more than doubled.

1. Fairchild, H. P., Immigration, 1925, pp. 222-223.

2. Taussig, F. W., Principles of Economics, 1913, Vol. 2, 139.

3. Hourwich, I. A., Immigration and Labor, 1922, p. 395.

4. Ibid., p. 11.

The present dominance of foreigners is explained by the fact that the development of the iron and steel industry was so rapid. All but a small per cent of the English speaking workmen were advanced to higher positions and their places were filled with the southern and eastern Europeans. Fairchild, in answer to this, states that, while the argument holds true of individuals, its fallacy when applied to groups becomes obvious, as there are not nearly enough places of authority to receive those who are forced out from below. The introduction of five hundred Slav laborers into a community may make a demand for a dozen or even a score of Americans in higher positions but hardly for five hundred.¹

Long hours and Sunday work in the steel industry cannot be attributed to the new immigration, declares Hourwich. There were some mills which ran on Sundays as far back as the eighties, before the so-called "Slav invasion". The Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers in the days of its power raised no objection to labor on Sunday. Its main concern seemed to be wages. It is an historical fact, important in relation to the subject in question, that the twelve hour day was staunchly defended by organized iron and steel workers when steel manufacturers, prompted by technical considerations, attempted to reduce it to eight hours.²

The decline of the native birth rate in the United States is another charge for which the immigrant must answer. According to the theory of Gen. Walker, the American laborer limits his family because of his inability to earn more money for reasons discussed above. Rev. Walter Rauschenbusch says, "The natives who suffer by the competition of the immigrants and who feel the tightening grip of our industrial development, refuse to bring children into a world which threatens them with poverty".³ It is also argued that, in so much as the immigrant does cause a shift in American labor from unskilled positions to ones of authority, there must be a lowering of the native birth rate, for it is a well known fact that in all modern societies, the higher the social class, the smaller the average family. Whether or not this decline in the native birth rate has been sufficient to offset the high birth rate of the foreign born, and to produce an actually smaller population than we would have had without any immigrants since 1820, it is impossible to prove. Fairchild thinks it seems probable that it has.⁴ Hourwich denies that the immigrant has been the cause of this declining birth rate and states that Professor Wilcox has proved by an analysis of population statistics that the decrease in the proportion of children began in the United States as early as 1810.⁵

1. Fairchild, H. P., Immigration, 1925, p. 223.

2. Hourwich, I. A., Immigration and Labor, 1922, pp. 409-410.

3. Fairchild, op. cit., p. 224, quoted from Rauschenbusch, Christianity and the Social Crisis, p. 273.

4. Ibid., p. 225.

5. Hourwich, op. cit., p. 18.

It is unfortunate, indeed, that these foreigners seem to adopt American tendencies toward crime in the second generation. This is due, in part, to the fact that the children of immigrants have a contempt of the old world standards without an adequate substitution of American standards.¹

Organized labor has always been an enthusiastic advocate of the restriction of immigration. This group is among those who think that immigration tends to lower the wages of the American workman. They firmly believe that an abundant supply of foreign workers means lower pay and possible unemployment. These immigrants from southern and eastern Europe who have come here are unacquainted with the major comforts of life; they regard the labor of women and children with complacency, seventy-six per cent of the cases of laboring children recently studied by the National Child Labor Committee had foreign born parents,² and make organization among the workers more difficult.

Trade union problems have been complicated, their needs have been increased, and their helplessness is apparent when once the foreigner has been admitted to the country. The Unions must either receive him or suffer from his competition. The tendency is for the foreigners to weaken the organizations in the fields in which they enter. Since many cannot speak English and some are illiterate they are hard to reach and bring into line. It is true that the labor organizer evangelizes the alien workers with his union gospel, but by the time one batch has been welded into a fighting force another group is on his hands. In 1901 the United States Steel Corporation signed agreements with two-thirds of their 125,000 workmen, among whom the English-speaking held a dominant place. Ten years later the company signed not a single agreement with its beaten mass of Slav-Latins. There was no union with which to sign. The organizing and organizable Americans had been deleted from the works.³

At the recent American Federation of Labor convention, this organization took its usual stand for almost complete exclusion of foreign labor, basing its reasons on the points which have already been discussed.

An intense race prejudice on the part of Southern wage earners of native birth has rendered impossible the extensive employment of southern and eastern European labor in manufacturing, consequently this has prevented the development of immigrant industrial colonies in the South except in a few cases.⁴

1. See p. 40.

2. MacLean, A. M., Modern Immigration, 1925, p. 48.

3. Ross, T. A. The Old World in the New, 1914, p. 210.

4. Jenks, E. W., and Leuck, J. W., The Immigration Problem, 1926, p. 71.

According to some authorities, there was no other source than southern and eastern Europe from which American industry could have drawn its labor supply. Hourwich specifically states that "...without the immigrants from those countries the recent development of American industry would have been impossible".¹ This, however, is an open question which probably will never be settled. There seems to be more agreement among authorities on the question of racial mixture in America which has arisen due to this same immigration.

These foreigners are chiefly Alpines, and are said to be causing a decided change in the appearance and average quality of the American people. The skull is becoming more of the brachycephalic type, the average stature is lower and the complexion darker. Dr. Michand thinks that these changes have already taken place on a large scale in New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. He also thinks, although he gives no evidence, that there has been a decline in the enterprising American spirit called push. On the other hand, we may also profit from the culture of these foreigners, as some predict that it will increase our love of art and our appreciation of the beautiful in all forms.²

1. Hourwich, I. A., Immigration and Labor, 1922, p. 19.

2. Hall, P. F., Immigration, 1908, pp. 105-106.

Part II.

Chapter III.

The American Home of the Immigrant Steel Worker.

The immigrant community is perhaps one of the most perplexing problems which the foreigner has brought with him. It has its beginnings, like all other communities, in the needs of human beings and the traits of human nature, as man is a gregarious animal. By life, however, we mean more than physical existence, for in some way, man is bound to realize all of his fundamental wishes, those for security, adventure, recognition and affection. In the realization of these, the community should play an active part. Let us see then, with what competence these foreign communities provide an environment in which the immigrant steel worker can live and satisfy his fundamental wishes.

There are two general types of communities in which they live. The first, which has come into existence because of the development of natural resources such as iron and coal, is a colony or town in itself. The second is the immigrant community which is part of the American city. These latter constitute what we know as the "little Italy"; and "little Hell" sections, and are generally sources of despair to public spirited citizens who advocate clean-up days.

First of all, let us consider the separate immigrant colony which springs up around the plants and which is almost, if not wholly composed of immigrants. Gary, Indiana, is such a settlement and came into existence through the erection of a large steel mill. Granite City, and Madison, Illinois, which immediately join each other, and which, for all practical purposes are one industrial community have the distinction of being the largest Bulgarian colony in the United States. The original wage earners were English, Irish, Germans, Welsh and Poles, but by 1900 the demand for unskilled labor could no longer be supplied by them, as new steel foundries and a car building plant were erected, so Slovaks were used. In 1902 Magyars came, and were followed by a few Croatians, Roumanians, Greeks, and Servians. During the years 1904 and 1905 the Bulgarians began to come in swarms and by the autumn of that year Bulgarian immigration had reached a high water mark, with eight thousand of this race arriving. There were also about four thousand other immigrants. These foreigners have built up what is practically and exclusively an immigrant town. There are a few Americans, but in "Hungary Hollow" the Bulgarians, Servians, Roumanians and Magyars live apart from any American influence.¹

Braddock, Pennsylvania, the birthplace of Carnegie steel, is perhaps one of the oldest steel towns in the country. The workers, who are mostly immigrants, live in two story brick houses and black end frame dwellings, one set of which usually faces the street, and another a bricked court, littered with rubbish.

1. Jenks, J. W., and Lauck, J. W., The Immigration Problem, 1926 pp. 73-76.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

The first part of the book is devoted to a general survey of the history of the United States from the discovery of the continent to the present time. It is divided into three main periods: the colonial period, the revolutionary period, and the federal period. The colonial period is characterized by the struggle for independence from Great Britain. The revolutionary period is marked by the adoption of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. The federal period is the period of the growth and development of the United States as a nation.

The second part of the book is devoted to a detailed account of the events of the American Revolution. It begins with the outbreak of the war in 1775 and continues through the signing of the peace treaty in 1783. It covers the military campaigns, the political struggles, and the social changes of the period. The third part of the book is devoted to a history of the United States from 1783 to the present time. It covers the early years of the republic, the expansion of the territory, the development of the economy, and the growth of the nation.

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The book is written in a clear and concise style, and is suitable for use as a textbook in schools and colleges. It is a valuable work for anyone interested in the history of the United States.

There is nothing green or bright anywhere. One has the impression that all Braddock is black. A slack covers everything and there is a fine ore dust which penetrates into every corner of the town. Cleanliness, as may be imagined, is almost an impossibility although most of the women spend their lives in an effort to attain it. Mary Heaton Vorse remarked particularly upon the window curtains, which are kept, by repeated launderings, remarkably white, and which seem to be almost a symbol of hope to these people. On them the foreigners have concentrated all efforts at cleanliness, and when they have become black like everything else, it is a signal of defeat.¹

Then there are the immigrant sections of the American city, which are particularly characteristic of iron and steel manufacturing towns in Pennsylvania, New York and the middle West. A few of these are Steelton, Johnstown, Pittsburgh, and the Pittsburgh District in Pennsylvania; Youngstown, Ohio; South Chicago and DeKalb, Illinois. Two of the most representative of this group are Pittsburgh and Youngstown.

In Pittsburgh the people who make the steel live on the south side of town. Their homes, which are really nothing but shacks, cling to the hillsides, and one can see their shanties at the bottom of sudden gulches. In Youngstown there is a yawning pit where they make steel. This is surrounded by drab and colorless houses, where the workers live, and it is said that the night of steel is more visible here than anywhere else. On the east side, where life is "scraped down to the bone" there are miles of mills surrounded with high walls and the gates are guarded by uniformed men. Here, too, are thousands of workers, and nothing else except the ugly frame buildings and muddy streets.

And what effect do these communities have upon the immigrant and upon us? First of all, we must consider their organization. The immigrant community, roughly speaking, is a community within a community. Even in towns which are composed chiefly of foreigners, such as Braddock, different nationalities have established their own colonies. These communities usually include within themselves all of the interests in the life of the immigrant. Each has its religious groups with their related and often dependent mutual aid and welfare societies. It also has its own business enterprises, clubs, lodges, coffee houses, restaurants and a press. The immigrant colony, in short, is frequently nothing more than a transplanted village.² These, as may be imagined, are a great barrier to assimilation.

1. Vorse, M. H., Men and Steel, 1922, pp. 32-37.

2. Park, R. E., and Burges, E. W., The City, 1925, p. 119.

Among the Italians and Poles there is an especially strong wish to remain in solitary communities. Many of these groups have heritages so different from ours that they feel no original interest in participating in American life. This is especially noticeable in the Polish-American Parish. There are now nearly fifty independent ones in the United States which have been unified into a Polish National Church, besides an unknown number of isolated parishes not members.¹ Mr. Kutaukowski has also attracted attention to the social, rather than to the religious, character of the Polish-American parish, and identifies it with the old Slavic commune.² This power of the parish, says Znaniecki, is much greater here than in most conservative peasant communities in Poland. In its institutional organization, it performs the functions which in Poland are fulfilled by both the parish and the commune.³

Many of these communities, particularly in large cities, are situated in districts which are known as transitional zones. These sections are so called as most of them are in an area where the land value is high, but the rental value is low. In other words, these are old residential sections which are becoming absorbed into the industrial and commercial centers of the town. Low rents attract the immigrant to this zone, and cultural segregation within it produces the "Little Sicily" and the "Bohemia". The slum, (as these areas are called), is more than an economic phenomenon as pointed out. It is a sociological one as well. It stamps its inhabitants with a characteristic social pattern which is its own. Considered as a whole it is a thoroughly cosmopolitan area, and here we find a tolerance of foreign customs and ideas that is not evident in other circles.⁴ We have here a confused social world. The slum community and the slum family have often failed to establish common social definitions and as a result we may find disorganized, ineffective, and broken families.

It is here also that the "gang" spirit takes root and flourishes. The gang originated as a conflict group, antagonistic to the social definitions of one or all of the family, the community, and the conventional world.

"The fundamental fact about the gang", says Thrasher, "is that it finds in the boys who become its members a fund of energy that is undirected, undisciplined and uncontrolled by any socially desirable pattern, and gives to that energy an opportunity for expression in the freest, most spontaneous, and elemental manner possible, and at the same time intensifies all the natural impulses by the process of cumulative stimulation."⁵

The gang often becomes the most dominant factor in a boy's life, and since most of its behavior is defined by the larger community as "delinquent" and since these patterns are fixed in the boy's personality, we have a high rate of delinquency among the immigrants. Often these gangs produce ward politicians and "vice lords" who are most inimical to our social organization.⁶

1. Thomas, W. I. and Znaniecki, F., The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, 1927, vol. 2, 1929.

2. Ibid., p. 1524.

3. Park, R. E., and Miller, H. A., Old World Traits Transplanted, 1921,

4. Thrasher, F.M., The Gang, 1927, p. 101.

pp. 211-212.

5. Ibid., p.

6. Zorrough, The Gold Coast and Slum, 1929, p. 157.

The housing conditions in these districts contribute greatly to the problems of the immigrant community. After investigating the situation, we find that there is one particularly distinguishing feature, the boarding house. This keeping of boarders or lodgers seems to be a very widespread habit among our recent immigrant families, and sadly enough, it has brought many evils into our midst. Foremost is the sacrifice of family life in the households. Secondly, the taking of boarders tends to increase the congestion, which is already likely to be extreme, and thirdly, it lays additional burdens upon the overworked housewife.¹ The only great advantage is, of course, that it increases the family income.

Among the Slavic immigrant population, women are fewer than men and are regarded as being very valuable as a means whereby a man may take boarders. In some families, the boarding boss, as he is known, is head of the household consisting of himself, his wife, children, and anywhere from four to sixteen lodgers, each of whom pays the boss a fixed sum, usually two or three dollars a month, for lodging, cooking and washing.²

These boarding houses which are particularly characteristic of the overcrowded Polish sections are usually formed by a small group of Polish workmen, partly for social and partly for economic reasons. The initiative comes from a group when all of the men put some money into renting and furnishing an apartment, and induce one of their number, who has a wife, to bring her to keep house. In case some outside woman is hired they each buy their own food, and she cooks it, and cleans the house. Usually she receives a small sum from each of the men for these services, and by tacit understanding takes the left over food for herself and her children.³

A typical dwelling of the Polish working people, one found in any steel town, is described by Byington,

"There is an entrance, perhaps under the steps, which leads to the apartments below. In the semi-basement in the front lives a family. Above on the first floor lives another family, in two or three small rooms; and in the rear there is another. Thus four or more families live in one small house and often in true tenement style they take in boarders...Here together live men, women, children, dogs, pigeons and goats in regular....slum conditions."⁴

1. Fairchild, H. P., Immigration, 1925, pp. 242-244.

2. Atkinson, H. A., Men and Things, 1918, p. 89.

3. Thomas & Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, vol. 2,

4. Byington, M. F., Homestead, 1910, pp. 131-136.

Dr. Warne describes a housing case in a Pennsylvania immigrant district, which was known to himself, where fourteen Slavs all "unmarried, rent one large room in an abandoned tumble down store building. It is taken care of by a housekeeper who also prepares the meals. Each man has a tin plate, knife, fork and cup; he has ham and bread and a separate place to keep them. Some things are bought in quantities, the distribution being made by the housekeeper. The men sleep in bunks resembling shelves in a grocery store."¹

These immigrant homes make no attempt at having any comforts of life. Scarcely any of them have running water, and the lighting is always poor. On wash days the women string clothes lines around sooty courts or across alleys, or even in the kitchens. The wash tubs are filled by carrying water from a pump which is usually outside, and the kitchen, which is also in many cases the bedroom, living room and dining room, becomes the laundry. On nice days the tubs are sometimes moved outside and the washing is done there.

And so in summing up, we see that although the immigrant comes to America, he does not come to an American society. He lives in a community totally apart from the influence of American culture, and here among his own people he satisfies in a haphazard way, the four fundamental wishes, those for security, adventure, recognition and affection. It is here also that he exists on what is notoriously known as his "low standard of living".

The Standard of Living.

Since the income of most immigrant steel workers is about \$900 their standard of living is necessarily low. We have already seen that this low standard is true in respect to housing, now let us turn to the question of food. Usually the immigrants, upon their arrival in this country, find that the food to which they have been accustomed, such as milk, and eggs, is much beyond their means, while meat is more easily and cheaply obtained than in their native country. These conditions usually result in two compromises, either they leave out both milk and meat and live on starches and vegetables, or meat is used at the sacrifice of both vegetables and milk. Naturally the health of the family suffers from these conditions.²

Meat has a prominent place in the Polish diet, with pork being the favorite. This is frequently used with beef and made into puddings and loaves. Fish is used fresh in the summer and pickled in the winter, while potatoes are served at almost every meal. The grain which is preferred most is barley, although the Poles use corn meal and oats in large quantities.³

1. The Immigrant Invasion, 1913, pp. 153-154.

2. Davis, M. M., Immigrant Health and the Community, 1921, p. 254.

3. Ibid., p. 270.

The average monthly cost of food is different for different groups, ranging from about ten dollars per man for the Croations and Slovaks to five dollars for the Italians.¹ The Italians live mainly upon bread, macaroni and bologna sausage, which accounts for the extremely low cost of their maintenance. At their noon meal a whole gang may be seen eating a loaf of bread and a pickle or a piece of bologna sausage. At night they cook a stew made of macaroni, tamales, potatoes and a small scrap of meat. For breakfast they also have bologna sausage and black coffee.. It is generally true of the Italians that when they are not working they eat only two meals a day.²

Clothing is not a very significant item in the immigrant's budget. Many of these foreigners wear cast-off clothing, which they obtain through various sources, together with garments which are survivals from the wardrobes worn in the fatherland. Then, too, the immigrant's supply of clothing is not large. In one Italian family, and there are probably many more like it, the children had but one outfit apiece. This of course necessitated having it laundered at night.

In respect to clothing, men become Americanized much sooner than women. In some foreign sections it is said that when a foreign woman adopts the American mode of dress she is an object of scorn among her fellow countrymen. The shawl, which is characteristic of foreign feminine apparel, is usually the last thing to disappear. When this is discarded and the hat is adopted, one may say that Americanization is accomplished.

Infant Mortality.

It is, perhaps, the children who suffer most in these immigrant communities, where there is a decided lack of conditions that favor a decent home life. Ignorance, the inadequate incomes of the fathers, and overcrowding, tax³ life heavily by infant mortality. Investigations of the Children's Bureau in Washington show that where the father earns \$550 a year every sixth baby dies, while in families where the income is \$1,050 or more per year, only one baby in sixteen dies.³ There is also a higher birth rate among foreign-born women than among those of native birth, the number of legitimate births to every one thousand women of fifteen to forty-four years of age being 253.2 to 137.1 respectively. Among the former the Italians, Russians and Poles head the list in maternal mortality.⁴

The high maternal and infant mortality rates are usually attributed to lack of pre-natal care, neglect in confinement, poverty, overcrowding and unsanitary housing conditions. According to an investigation of the Children's Bureau in Baltimore it was found that the babies of foreign-born mothers meet a greater hazard in congested

1. The cost of living for the typical Pole is much less per month.
2. Jenks, J. W., and Lauck, W. W., The Immigration Problem, 1926, p. 187.
3. Atkinson, H. A., Men and Things, 1918, p. 90.
4. Davis, M. M., Immigrant Health and the Community, 1921, pp. 185-186.

dwellings than elsewhere. In a group of "most congested households" more than half were Polish.

In a study made at Johnstown, Pennsylvania, it was found that two-thirds of those having no attendant at birth were Serbo-Croatian and more than thirty per cent of the births among women of this nationality took place without a qualified attendant. More than one-half of those who employed midwives, less than one-fifteenth of those who had physicians and about one-fifth who had no qualified attendant, had babies who died in their first year of life. Fifteen of the nineteen Serbo-Croatian women, whose babies died under one year of age, kept lodgers.²

There are also other barriers which must be considered, such as language, different points of view and customs between American medical health workers and the immigrants. Many times a woman's continental training is in complete opposition to American scientific methods, and it is hard to convert her to the new ideas. One of the most outstanding of these attitudes is the opposition to the hospitals. They associate these institutions with certain death and will not allow themselves or their children to be taken to them.

The social composition of the immigrant family creates another difficulty as the authority over all members of the family is centered in the father, who is not at home during the usual working hours of the social worker or nurse. It is always necessary to have his permission before making a change which involves the family in any way, even if it is only the adjusting of the babies' diet.³

Domestic Relations.

All of these things, of course, form the background for the domestic relations of the immigrant steel worker. They are the material facts of his existence which we can observe and rate according to a definite standard. But now we come in contact with the more complicated and intangible problem of relationships. Many of us, undoubtedly, have already assumed that the immigrant steel worker must be a most unhappy man. How could he be otherwise, living in a house which lacks every convenience and eating bologna sausage for breakfast, lunch and dinner? Yet must it necessarily follow that he is unhappy? I think not. We have judged his material circumstances according to our standards, but happiness is another matter. He may, and probably does, get enjoyment and pleasure out of many things which we have overlooked.

1. Rochester, Ann, Children's Bureau Publication, #119, 1923, p. 112.

2. Davis, M. M., Immigrant Health and the Community, 1921, pp. 185-186.

3. Ibid., p. 194.

Most of these immigrants lived at home under what is known as the "primary group" organization. Primary groups, says Cooley are, "...those characterized by intimate face to face association and co-operation. They are primary in several senses, but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual... One lives in the feeling of the whole and finds the chief aims of his will in that feeling."¹

The Polish family, is, in the primary and larger sense of the word, a social group including all of the blood usually up to the fourth degree. The family in the narrower sense includes only the married pair and their children, the "marriage group".² In the case of our immigrants the whole struggle for self expression has been made as a member of an organization and the individual has felt himself a person to the degree that he was incorporated in an organization. The primary group maintains, then, the security of the whole community, and it is to this that the individual members must sacrifice their wishes. It is the group which has interest in its own status among other groups and its own permanent recognition, and the individual must get these satisfactions from being a member of the group. It is from this society that the immigrant comes to America.

But conditions are essentially different in this country. We have an exalted idea of the individual and lay much stress upon personality. At first the immigrant does not notice this as he lives in groups of his own people, who cling to the old heritages, and the father is the absolute head of his family. Soon, however, the children go to school and come in contact with American ideas, whereupon they refuse to recognize the old group standards. The family, on the other hand, struggles to retain its control over the individuals, a situation which can only mean the disorganization of family life. It is a situation to be deplored, and one which has, as yet, met with very little adjustment.

The immigrant steel worker usually has a large family. This may be attributed to his religion and general lack of knowledge concerning birth control. Moreover, although it seems strange to us, the economic conditions favor a large family. The average wage of the immigrant is as much as he has been accustomed to in the old country, if not more, so children are not considered an economic burden in their younger days. When they grow up they are supposed to preserve the family solidarity at least to the extent of turning over most of their earnings, so that in the end whatever the family spends in supporting them until they are of a working age, is an investment from which a return is expected.³

The moral status of the average Polish-American individual or marriage group, and this is generally true of all immigrants, can be characterized as having a very unstable balance of temperamental atti-

1. Social Organization, 1927, p. 23.

2. Thomas and Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, 1927, vol. I, p. 87.

3. Ibid., vol. 2, 1516-1517.

tudes and personal habits which determine whether the traditional social scheme, now almost reduced to a mere form, will be preserved or not. The relationship between husband and wife seems to have lost its old institutional significance as a consequence of the general effect of immigration.¹ One thing, which is an entirely new element in the conjugal life of the immigrant, is the interference by the state, court, police, and activities of private or half-private American institutions. If he is unfaithful to his wife, suddenly he finds himself confronted by one or more of these agencies, and an explanation is demanded. Although the divorce rate is lower among the immigrant groups, there is no proof that their marriages are any happier than those of the native born. No desertion rates could be found, so at best we can only guess at this part of the immigrant's life. There is more desertion among the immigrants than among the native born, but since most foreigners have a characteristically low economic status one may contend that this factor is fundamental, rather than that of nationality.²

It is generally true that the children of immigrants spend little time at home, and that they are scornful of the culture of their parents. They learn to speak English at school, and with a childish love of conformity to the ways of other children, refuse to speak an alien language at home. Eventually, they come to despise the parents, who can only use the foreign tongue. In a recent study of the Poles, made in Buffalo, Polish was found to be the usual language spoken in forty-three per cent of the cases. In the latter condition it was probably the old folks who spoke Polish and their children, English.³

Education, in such cases, becomes a barrier between the two generations. According to Edward Pierce Mulrooney, Police Commissioner of New York City, we have a greater foreign population than we had, and while these people themselves are all right the generation which is born here is perhaps ashamed of the old folks who speak with an accent. The result is that they sneak away from home, laugh at the curious manners and customs of their parents and say that they are out of date. Then one or two things happens,..."either the old folks step out and neglect the children or the children are ashamed of the old folks and grow up without the right sort of supervision."⁴ This is the fundamental reason for the high delinquency rate among the immigrants.

The Immigrant and the Church.

The great majority of the immigrant steel workers are affiliated with the Roman Catholic church, and a large number of these belong to racial churches of their own. Usually the latter are not restricted to parish lines because immigrants of their respective races are expected to concentrate in them.

1. Thomas^{V. I.} and Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, 1927, vol. 2, pp. 1706-1707.

2. Mowerer, E. R., Family Disorganization, 1927, p. 96.

3. Carpenter, Niles and Katz, A Study of Acculturation in the Polish Group of Buffalo, 1926-1928, U. of Buffalo Studies, 1929, vol. 7, no. 4, p. 110. (p. 11.)

4. Wolf, S. J., Edward P. Mulrooney, New York Times Magazine Section, March 15, 1933.

But religion does not seem to play a very important part in the lives of the steel workers, and they rarely, if ever, attend church. The women are the ones who cling to their faith, and who bring its influence into the home.¹

These churches, however, are very vital to the organization of the immigrant community. They have not only administered to the spiritual wants of the people, but also have organized aid societies, and recreational activities.

The Polish-American parish plays a very significant part in the life of the community, and it is recognized by the immigrants as being necessary since there are always a certain number of ceremonies such as christenings, weddings and funerals which are considered absolutely essential even by the least religious foreigners. Easter confession is also thought to be indispensable and every effort is made to attend it.²

But as has been said above, the steel worker is not, as a rule, religious. The mills seem to develop in the men an apathy which is almost a dumb, brutish fatalism. Atkinson attributes this attitude to the constant association with steel, which becomes almost human to the men working with it, and to them life looks small in proportion. Perhaps, he suggests, if the churches in our great steel centers would often and persistently preach, not that life is more precious than sheep, a simile which is obviously aimed at a pastorally minded people, but that man is more precious than a steel bar, then these workers could understand the teaching far better.³

Then, too, the foreigner usually regards the church as a thing apart, as the priest does not visit the mills, nor does he usually try to better conditions for the men. The whole substance of the matter is that the worker is concerned with his bread and butter, with the here and now and not with the future. Sunday, to most of the immigrant steel workers, is just another work day.

Many organizations are formed in connection with the churches. Typical examples of these are St. Joseph's Croatian Society and St. Mary Magdalena's First Ladies Slovak Catholic Union. The membership in these clubs usually requires that the person shall belong to the church, and many times it is specified that they shall attend mass at least on Easter Sunday.⁴ It is interesting to note that, in most of these organizations, there is a great opportunity for office holding. In some of them practically every member has some special duty or some honorary position.

The immigrants have brought with them several of the religious customs which were practiced in their homeland. One, which is said to date from pagan days, is particularly interesting. On the Monday following Easter the men go about with willow branches and switch the women until they make them a present. On the following day, however,

1. Atkinson, H. A., Men and Things, 1918, p. 90.

2. Thomas, W. I. and Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, 1927, vol. 2, 1524.

3. Atkinson, op. cit., p. 91.

4. Byington, M. F., Homestead, 1910, pp. 160-161.

the women retaliate by throwing water on the men.¹ Then too, all summer one can see over the doors and windows of the shabby dwellings, dried, smoke-begrimed branches from which the faded leaves hang desolately. These decorations are part of a joyous religious festival in the springtime similar to those that added merriment to the village life at home.²

In summing up, it may be said that the church is necessary as a regulative measure in immigrant communities. Some type of an organization which will induce a man to belong to something, to cooperate with some group where something is expected of him, is necessary. In accomplishing this mission the church is carrying on an invaluable work among our foreign-born groups.

1. Byington, M. F., Homestead, 1910, p. 150.

2. Ibid., p. 150.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

The following is a summary of the information received from the various sources mentioned in the report. It is to be understood that the information is not necessarily complete and that it is subject to change as more information is received. The information is being furnished for your information and for the information of the various agencies concerned.

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Settlements, where they have been established, have also been a great aid in assisting the immigrant to obtain an education. Most all of them either conduct classes in English themselves, or cooperate with other organizations, such as the school, or libraries, where such classes are held.

But, although the immigrant laborer is often anxious to learn, he is always tired from his day's work, and the best that can be said is that he can learn if he applies himself diligently. However, there are cases where learning is an impossibility, as men who work ten or twelve hours a day, seven days a week have not time or energy for education. In this case, the settlement and other organizations can only hope to be an interpreter of America to the foreign¹ born, and in doing this it does perform an immediately valuable work.

Too often, I believe, this adoption of the immigrant into our midst has been misunderstood; too often it has been a one-sided proposition in which the immigrant has discarded all of his heritages and adopted ours. This process of Americanization should mean not only a better understanding of America by the immigrant, but also a better understanding of the immigrant in all his resources and weaknesses by America. Americanization that expresses the best in our national life involves the securing to the immigrant of good working conditions, fair wages, decent housing, health protection and recreational opportunity; leisure to learn, to know, understand and love our institutions.²

Obviously, all of this takes time, and Americanization, as we have practiced it in most cases, has been too rapid. The youth of the second generation often loses the simplicity, the temperance, love of family and the spirit of economy of his father without acquiring the generosity, the soberness of habits, the truthfulness, the sense of justice and the respect for the law of the true American.

The innumerable clubs, which are organized for young people in connection with all types of social work among immigrants, are doing a wonderful thing in training the second generation to love and respect justice and honor. Unfortunately, says Sartorio, they also help to deepen the gulf between parents and children.³

The United States Steel Corporation has established what is known as the practical housekeeping center, in many places, which teaches the preparation and cooking of foods, the care and feeding of babies, dress-making and domestic science. So it can be seen that Americanization does not merely consist in teaching the immigrant English. It has a far wider scope and should give the foreigner an appreciation of the best we have to give, while recognizing and developing the best there is in him.

1. Holden, A. C., The Settlement Idea, 1922, p. 115.

2. Ibid., 188.

3. Sartorio, E. C., Social and Religious Life of the Italian in America, 1918, p. 72.

Education in the Factory.

Many of the steel companies have been carrying on educational work among their employees in order to increase their efficiency and promote their happiness. The United States Steel Corporation is one which has been active in this line, and its policy may be described to illustrate our point. It has distributed many thousands of copies of a booklet on how to take out citizenship papers, which describes the various steps by which one becomes naturalized.¹

The first step in this work is the teaching of the English language. Classes are conducted by many companies, either in rooms in the mill buildings or through the cooperation of the local school authorities in a school room, on two or three evenings of each week. Frequently employees of the companies volunteer as teachers, and lessons begin with the pronunciation of names of objects most familiar to the men in their daily work. These lessons are supplemented by posters and bulletins which are on display in the various mills. The one great drawback is, of course, that the men are usually so tired after their day's work that the effort which the classes require is more than the worker has to give. But the idea is fine, and for those who can take advantage of it, it is well worth while.

As may be noticed in this review of educational opportunities to which the immigrant is exposed, the mother has not been mentioned. She is the one who stays home to keep house, and very seldom has a chance to come in contact with our American schools. It is true that the visiting nurses do much to stimulate the development of American ideals in their minds, but the number reached is comparatively few.² We still have much to accomplish in this field.

Newspapers.

The native American newspaper has also played its part in the process of Americanization and education of the immigrant. Likewise the immigrant, in turn, has had a profound influence on the character of the newspaper, for one of the recognized problems of modern journalism has been how to bring the foreigner and his descendants into the circle of newspaper readers. Since the immigrant usually acquires this newspaper habit from reading a product of the foreign language press, let us consider first the foreign language newspaper.

The reason why this press is so popular is, perhaps, that immigrant groups hold to their languages here because of their experiences in which language has been almost the only guard of nationality.

1. See appendix # 3, p. 63.

2. Close, C. L., Welfare Work in the Steel Industry, 1920, p. 33-35.

a paper, so "Zajednicar" was established in 1904. It is true that many of the Croats cannot read, even though they may receive the paper, but there is always some one in the lodging house who reads both the Croatian and American journals aloud, so every one hears the news.¹

The Polish National Alliance established "Zgoda" in 1879 as the organ of their society. Before the war it had a circulation of one hundred thousand, but by 1922 it had reached one hundred twenty-five thousand. This had a hold over such a large reading public that in 1908 the directors of the society decided to establish a daily edition.² This paper, which was always very enthusiastic about happenings in Poland, has recently become a bit more reserved in its attitude.

And what benefits do the immigrants derive from the foreign press? There are many, but most important is the educational value.³ Often the immigrant has a taste for art, drama and the like, but he cannot read the American papers. It is then that he turns to his foreign newspaper, which probably has higher standards along these lines than many American journals. Then, too, many foreigners learn to read and write their mother tongue in this country, and many acquire the habit of reading over here. It is interesting to note that almost every Polish daily in Chicago runs a book publishing concern, and advertisements both for their own and other bookstores appear in their papers. This literature which is printed for the masses may be classified into two groups, the literature of love, and the literature of radicalism. The radical papers have no fiction as their primary interest is in ideas.⁴

It is generally agreed that in this country the immigrant's food and his foreign language restaurants survive longest, so it is only natural that we should find in these eating places an atmosphere in which the foreign news is being read and discussed. The papers, as has already been said, are read in the boarding houses, and also we may add, in the home. In the latter situation the paper is read much more by adult immigrants than by their children, and is a source of much satisfaction.⁵

But gradually the foreigner develops a curiosity to look into an American newspaper, and we find men, who can perhaps read not more than the headlines, buying a (Sunday) copy merely to look at the pictures. Many times it is through this source that he derives his first conception of American ideals and life, his impressions of public men and his knowledge of American affairs. If his first introduction to the English press is through a comic supplement, then it is important that his standards be maintained through the foreign language press until such a time as he can read the more representative journals of America.⁶

1. Park, R. E., The Immigrant Press and Its Control, 1922, pp. 273-274.

2. Ibid., pp. 171-172.

3. Holden, A. C., The Settlement Idea, 1922, p. 116.

4. Park, op. cit., pp. 123-125.

5. Bogardus, E. S., Americanization, 1923, p. 363.

6. Kellor, F., Immigration and the Future, 1920, p. 105.

In accounting for yellow journalism Ross says that "... no one seems to have noticed that the saffron newspapers are aimed at a sub-American mind gropings its way out of a fog".¹ When the native stock falls below thirty per cent and the foreign element exceeds it, yellowness tends to become an epidemic. It is also said that the arts, which win the immigrant, deprave the taste of native readers and lower the intelligence of the community.

The most successful of Hearst's papers, "The New York Evening Journal", gains a new body of subscribers every six years, mainly from immigrants who graduate to Mr. Hearst's papers from the foreign language press. When sensationalism begins to pall they acquire a taste for some of the soberer journals. At any rate it is generally agreed that in some ways Mr. Hearst has been a great Americanizer.²

The Immigrant and His Recreations.

The recreational life of the immigrant steel worker and his family, is at best, a most disorganized affair. These foreigners spend their leisure time in many ways, but as a rule they do not associate with the native born Americans. They go to their own theatres, their own lodges, which are usually connected with the churches, and they celebrate together at a christening, a wedding or a funeral. All of these last three events are high spots in the life of an immigrant community. Since there is usually no better place for the children to play, they run around the streets and are in constant danger of being hit by some automobile or truck.

In the summer one can see the men sitting outside playing cards, with many people gathered around to watch the proceedings. These are almost always the older people, as most of the younger ones have probably gone to one of the cheap movie houses. This latter form of recreation cannot be said to be a very wholesome form of amusement, and certainly it is not a very authentic source from which to learn the ideals of American life. In fact, it is a disintegrating force, as the films which the immigrants see usually deal with sex abnormalities, financial crookedness and extravagant living. Obviously this is not a desirable way to introduce foreigners to our American life. It is to be hoped that some day these moving picture houses will be a real help in bringing before the people in "little Italy" and similar sections, the more representative ideals of American life.

Music is perhaps one of the things which the immigrants enjoy most. The Italian ditch digger, who may be heard humming strains from Verdi, is a classical example of this. At the Metropolitan Opera House productions, Mr. Burns, who is very much interested in Americanization, sat up in the gallery where there were a large number of immigrants. He said later, that he could see that they were enjoying the great musical treat spread out before them, a thing which many Americans cannot say for themselves.³

1. The Old World in the New, 1914, p. 233.

2. Park and Miller, Old World Traits Transplanted, 1921, p. 81.

3. Burns, A. T., American Americanization, 1923, p. 9.

...the first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the cold, crisp air. It felt like a blanket, wrapping around me. I took a deep breath, savoring the scent of pine and the distant sound of water. The world seemed so quiet, so still. I walked towards the lake, my feet crunching on the fallen leaves. The water was a deep, dark blue, reflecting the sky above. I stood on the shore, watching the ripples dance across the surface. It was a peaceful moment, one I would never forget.

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THE JOURNALS OF THE LOST

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On another occasion Mr. Burns attended a lodge in which the members were all foreign-born. They were giving a dramatic and musical entertainment and it was quite noticeable that everyone was paying the greatest amount of attention to the first violinist of the orchestra. When asked why, they said that he was one of their boys who had musical talent, and since they realized this they had all chipped in out of their meagre wages and collected a fund which was giving him a thorough musical education in America under one of our great musical leaders, Mr. Damrosch.¹

The settlement, which is doing a wonderful work among the immigrants, has not been very popular among our large steel centers. Where we do find these settlements they are of great benefit in organizing and directing the foreigner in his recreations.

But at the most, the recreational life of the immigrant steel worker is a sketchy affair. He seeks out, as best he can, pastimes for his leisure hours, which among the steel workers, are very few. It is the children who suffer most from the situation. It is for them especially that we need constructive recreations.

1. Burns, A. T., American Americanization, 1923, p. 9.

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Part II.

Chapter V.

The State and the Immigrant Steel Worker.

After a first hasty glance one usually decides that the immigrant is a great detriment to our political organizations. New York City and Chicago, both of which have large foreign-born populations, are outstanding examples of corruption in government. It is a well known fact that Tammany in New York tries to please the foreigners by giving members of each racial group representation in some office, and perhaps there is no one more skilled as a player of alien prejudices than William Hale Thompson of Chicago, whose success as a politician is due to the way in which he plays on the psychology of the foreign vote. For example in a recent campaign he claimed that the historians had belittled the justice of the American cause in the American Revolution, and that they had slighted the aid given by Pulaski, von Steuben, De Kalb, Kosciusko, and LaFayette. In a newspaper statement on March 18, 1927 he demanded that the names of Pulaski and Kosciusko be put back into the Chicago school histories, and as a result representative Polish leaders in twenty-two wards perfected precinct organizations with the objective of one hundred thousand votes for "Big Bill".¹ It is generally agreed that his opposition to the king of England is due to the fact that the English form a small portion of the voters of Chicago, and his opposition to king George has drawn to his support Irish Chicago.

There is also a tendency for the immigrant to influence national politics. In the campaign of 1920 the Republican National Committee issued literature on both sides of the Fiume question. They sent pamphlets to the Yugoslavs telling them that Harding favored their contentions. They also sent literature to the Italians informing them that Harding favored the Italian claims.²

The vote on the two immigration bills which contain quota provisions (1921 and 1924) is significant in showing one sphere of influence of our foreign population. On the first, in 1921, the vote in the House was 296 to 42, and out of the 42, 33 were from the six states having the greatest foreign population, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois and Massachusetts. In 1924 the vote was 323 to 71 and 55 out of the 71 were from the above six states.³

But let us approach this question of influence from another angle, and ask, what effect do American political institutions have on the immigrant? Obviously the foreigner who comes to this country has very little if any knowledge concerning our existing political machinery. It is through ward bosses and other unscrupulous men that he first hears and learns about our government and its organization. Many times he is favorably impressed, as was the Italian who wrote home to his friend in Palermo, "Come over quick, Luigi, you can do anything you want to and besides they give you a vote you can get two dollars for!"⁴

1. Lewis, E. R., America, Nation or Confusion, 1928, pp. 311-312.

2. Ibid., p. 293.

3. Ibid., p. 300.

4. Ross, E. A., The Old World in the New, 1914, pp. 268-269.

The immigrant colonies, which are now well established in every large city, have more or less independent political organizations of their own, and each is the center of vigorous propaganda. These organizations, however, do not affect the programs of the parties, as their demand is for racial representation. Their main interest seems to be "home politics", and some of their meetings are very violent.

The American political machines have exploited the immigrant. They have capitalized his ignorance of our language, and his inability to grasp and comprehend our complicated political organization. In most, if not all foreign communities, the organization of the newer members is manipulated by the older residents who issue instructions as to how votes should be cast. It is here that the foreigner most seriously threatens our political democracy, and it is only through education that this evil can be remedied.

The system of Aldermanic courts, which prevails throughout Pennsylvania and some of the other states, is especially open to petty tyranny and corruption in dealing with the immigrant population. According to this arrangement, all misdemeanors are tried before local squires or justices of the peace, who can impose fines or short term imprisonment and who can also act in civil suits involving amounts less than \$300. The men who hold office in these courts are often uneducated and usually have no training in law. They are elected by the voters of the borough to serve for five years, and although they receive no salary they are paid certain fees.¹

The foreigner must adapt his old political creed to American conditions just as he must modify his rules for rearing his children. In doing this the organized community has given him no help, and, until it does, we cannot hope for much improvement. Citizenship classes conducted by the Y. M. C. A. and similar organizations are an admirable beginning for this service. Ward bosses know the value of the foreign-born and it is the indifference of the average American citizen which enables these politicians to keep their grip on these people. Our first hasty glance was indeed correct, the foreign-born citizens are causing corruption in our government. But the entire blame cannot and should not be laid at the door-step of the immigrants. We have shamefully neglected organizing constructive political groups among the foreign-born. The community should play a large part in this, but as Daniels says, it is not promotive but automotive community action which will fulfill America's democratic ideal.²

1. Byington, M. F., Homestead, 1910, p. 28.

2. Daniels, J., America Via the Neighborhood, 1920, p. 463.

The following information was obtained from the records of the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, regarding the land owned by the United States in the State of California, and is hereby published for the information of the public.

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International Aspects of Immigration.

During and since the late war the United States has played an increasingly larger part in international affairs, and in the light of current events we have come to realize more than ever the interdependence of Europe and our country. One of the most important bonds in this situation is the immigrant who has come here to live but who still has friends or relatives in "the old country" to hold his interest.

In many cases the foreign-born citizens of the United States have come from countries which have played an important part in the policies of Europe in the past. Many movements which have tended toward a more democratic organization in the "old country" have counted upon the emigrants in the United States for moral and financial support. For example, consider the case of Poland. The ultimate aim of the Polish National Alliance in this country may be seen in a letter from Agaton Giller, a former member of the Polish national government of 1863, to the "Gazeta Polska" of Chicago.

"...When the mass of Poles in America is morally and nationally raised by the fact of being unified and is economically prosperous...it will render great services to Poland, even by the fact of representing the Polish name well in America. These services can gradually become very considerable.... when they (the Poles) begin to exercise an influence upon the public life of the United States, when they spread among Americans adequate conceptions about the Polish cause, and information about the history, literature and art of our nation, when finally they become mediaries between Poland and the powerful Republic....Then only can happen that which is most desirable, i.e. the emigrants who have acquired training in practical lines and wealth in America will begin to return to their fatherland and be useful citizens."¹

Another Polish society, the Alliance of Polish Socialists, has worked, up to the present, mainly to establish a Polish nation in America as a substitute and a center of influence for a Polish state in Europe. This principle is found in a letter of Kozakiewicz, one of the founders of the Alliance. The letter, written in 1879, was read and endorsed at a general meeting of delegates in 1917.

"....The ultimate aim has been up to the presentthe realization of the socialistic ideal in Poland rather than America. When the time comes for our companions to return to Poland, may we be able to say with pride, 'These are men from the American school, trained by the Polish organizations.'"²

There are also other relationships which result from the immigrant returning to his native land to visit. Perhaps one of the most obvious examples of this concerns Italy. It is said that the Italians

1. Park, R. E., and Miller, H. A., Old World Traits Transplanted, 1921, p. 136.
2. Ibid., p. 138.

returning to Italy from America are not in favor of the Fascist movement, and therefore incur hostility on the part of the present Italian government. Many times American citizens of Italian extraction have been forced to serve in the Fascist army during times of peace, and although the Italian ambassador announced in 1929 that the practice would be discontinued, his word has not been kept. Last year an American citizen named Pizzecco returned to Cattolica, Ericeles, for a visit to some relatives. Upon his arrival he was arrested and, in spite of his protests that he was an American citizen, he was forced to serve in the Italian army.¹

Complications have also arisen from the fact that part of a family lives in the United States and part in the "old country". A striking example of this is the Safinowska case. Sofia Safinowska was living in Polaska, Poland, waiting until her husband, who was in the United States, could make enough money to send for her. Suddenly she received notice that her husband had filed a petition for a divorce and that he had given testimony which tended to show that although he had asked her to come to this country, and had sent her money for the passage she had always refused to make the trip. According to her testimony the American consulate in Warsaw would not allow her to leave for the United States, even for a short time. The divorce was granted, but Mrs. Safinowska writes,

"....I beg you to give me advice what I am to do in order to preserve myself from being divorced because in this country (Poland) there is no divorce for Roman Catholics..."²

She also asked for alimony as she was unable to support herself, but none was granted to her since, as the records indicate, "...it is not customary to do so in our American courts". The tragic and awkward situation here is probably not the only one of its kind which has been created in relation to some of our immigrants. It is deplorable, but since differences exist between countries, it is practically unadjustable.

Then there is the problem of disturbances in the United States which are said to be caused by our foreign-born population. One is continually reading about propaganda which is being carried on by aliens against our institutions. The attack made by a delegation of anti-Fascists against Ambassador de Martino is a recent example of this. The ambassador, they declared, was conducting a campaign to belittle American institutions, the American system of free speech and a representative form of government.³ There is no doubt, however, that many of these reports are exaggerated.

The problem of aliens who enter this country by illegal means is also one which causes no little trouble. Not long ago a plot was discovered whereby forged and counterfeit United States army discharges were sold for from \$500 to \$600 each to aliens, who used them in obtaining citizenship in this country after entering illegally.⁴

1. The New York Times, April 6, 1930, p. 15.
2. Letter from Sofia Safinowska to L. F. Perry, April, 1926.
3. The New York Times, February 25, 1931.
4. Ibid., p. 24.

Conclusion.

In summing up, we cannot overestimate the value of the steel industry to this country. A genius for mathematics has estimated that if the five hundred eighty-seven rolling mills in the United States were set end to end in a circle around Pittsburgh, the circle would be one hundred miles in diameter. Inside of this circle could be formed another, three-fourths as large, if we set end to end the five hundred thirty-two smaller steel mills and three thousand one hundred sixty-one puddling furnaces where the iron is first melted and made into bars called pigs. The five hundred seventy-seven open-hearth works would make a circle fifty miles across and the four hundred ten other furnaces of various kinds would form a fourth circle thirty-five miles in diameter. If all the Bessemer converters were made into one big one and put in the center of this gigantic circle it would be a mile in circumference and pour forth a river of molten steel every hour.¹

It must be remembered too, that the immigrant is an important factor in this basic industry. It is he who does the roughest and heaviest labor in the mills. Someone has called him a "slave of civilization".

But the immigrant has not usually found favor in the eyes of the Americans. Dr. T. B. Rice sums up admirably what is perhaps the most frequent and popular criticism of the foreigner:

"To-day the man who believes that the so-called 'melting pot' will fuse the heterogeneous mass dumped from the corners of the earth, in defiance of all laws of biology and sociology, into a national type is either utterly ignorant of all the laws of nature or is laboring under a most extraordinary delusion...The great majority of recent immigrants have come to our shores for a comparatively sordid purpose. Instead of coming to secure religious, political or educational freedom as the earlier immigrants came, they have, in large measure, come to make 'lots of money', to escape the criminal law...to seek relief from excessive economic pressure in the home land."²

Dr. Rice has evidently overlooked several incidents in American Colonial history when many of the "earlier immigrants" came to this country for questionable reasons. The ship load of criminals which was dumped in Connecticut, the debtors who were landed in Georgia, and the gold hunters of Jamestown were certainly not inspired by any desire for religious, political or educational freedom. Dr. Rice is also very unscientific about human motives when he states that the great majority of recent immigrants have come to our shores for a "comparatively sordid purpose".

1. Atkinson, H. A., Men and Things, 1918, p. 86.

2. Rice, T. B., Racial Hygiene, 1929, p. 301-302.

Perhaps our own purposes are sordid also. Certainly it is a significant and outstanding fact that we have so far done nothing really constructive to incorporate the foreign born into our industrial and social organizations. Proper education of immigrants will be a great step toward solving the problems of the foreign born and their children. By this means we can hope for a better community and home life, a more intelligent and active participation in politics, an enrichment of leisure and a deeper understanding of this their adopted country.

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Appendix

1- The raw materials used for the manufacture of pig iron are coal, iron ore and limestone. The most important coal fields in the United States are found in the Pittsburgh District. Some of these typical regions are the Youghiogheny coal fields southwest of Pittsburgh, while the Latrobe and Connellsville mines are situated north and east of it.

The ore comes chiefly from mines in the Lake Superior District, and about three-fifths of all that is used in the United States is mined in Minnesota. The greatest part of it is taken from open-pit mines. Some of these are horseshoe shaped with different levels, some are nearly square, some are long and narrow, bent at one end like a fish hook, while some are simply long. Most of these are a mile or two in length with the surface earth dug out a hundred feet or more down to the bed of ore.¹

Limestone or calcite is quarried in many places in America. It is first shot loose with dynamite, then picked up with steam shovels and carried in cars to a crushing plant where it falls into bins. Chute and skip cars run it aloft and revolving screens sort it into three sizes. The portion that is the proper size is sent to blast furnaces to be used as a flux in making pig iron. After serving its purpose in blast furnaces, limestone comes out with other impurities in the form of slag which is used in road building or is made into Portland cement.²

2- All steel is an alloy of iron and carbon, but the expression "alloy steel" usually refers to certain special varieties in which small quantities of one or more of a half dozen minerals are added to the steel to give it particular qualities. Manganese, chromium, nickel, tungsten, vanadium, and molybdenum are most customary additions to steel in quantities usually less than one per cent and seldom as much as five per cent,³ but the new stainless alloys contain fifteen per cent or more of chromium. The application of these gives to the metal such varying characteristics as extra hardness, toughness, elasticity, durability, brittleness, density, and resistance to oxidation or corrosion malleability, and fusibility. With the exception of molybdenum and tungsten, the United States has a very scant supply of these minerals.

Chromium is found in this country around Baltimore, Maryland. Vast quantities are also obtained from Southern Rhodesia, Quebec, New Caledonia, India, Asia Minor and various parts of South Carolina.⁴ Canada is our chief source of nickel, and of foreign producers, New Caledonia, Germany, Greece, Tasmania, and Sweden are the most important.⁵ Vanadium is obtained chiefly from Arizona, New Mexico, South East Africa, and Northern Rhodesia,⁶ while the world's supply of tungsten ores come from

1. Story of Steel, Pub. by the United States Steel Corporation, 1930, p. 6.
2. Ibid., p. 26.
3. Kier, M. Industrial Organization, 1923, p. 87.
4. Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th edition, vol. 5, p. 645.
5. Ibid., vol. 16, p. 425.
6. Ibid., vol. 22, p. 548.

the United States, China, Burma, Japan, Australia and Bolivia.¹
The United States leads the world in the production of molybdenum, a metallic metal of the chromium group which resembles iron in its white color.

3 - New naturalization procedure went into effect July 1st, 1929. The most important steps to be taken by persons wishing to become American citizens are: to obtain a certificate of arrival. This must be secured with first or second papers, in all cases at a cost of \$5.00. Every person who wishes to become an American citizen must make application for first papers. These may be applied for at any time after entering the United States, provided the man or woman is eighteen years of age. Before the first papers can be secured the applicant must prove that he entered the United States legally. This proof of entry is called the Certificate of Arrival. When the first papers are filed with the Clerk of Court there is a payment of \$5.00 made.²

An applicant who arrived before June 3, 192, and who cannot prove the date of arrival must secure a Certificate of Registry at a cost of \$20.00.

To apply for second papers, the declarant must have lived in this country continuously for five years. The first papers must be at least two years old, but not more than seven years old. He must have lived six months in the county where he files his petition. Two witnesses are needed to prove that the person has been in the county for six months before he can file his petition. After a declarant files his petition for second papers he is known as a petitioner. For the final or Naturalization Certificate the petitioner pays ten dollars. Declarants or petitioners must not leave the country for more than six months. In no case may they remain away for more than a year without their papers becoming void. Every alien who leaves the United States for a visit secures from the Immigration Bureau a permit which allows him to re-enter.³

1. Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th edition, vol. 20, p. 543.
2. New Naturalization Procedure, prepared by the American Citizenship League of Pittsburgh, 1930, pamphlet.
3. Ibid.,

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Date 25 May 1931.

Name Perry Lauckhuff

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. in relation to the matter of the ...
and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration.
Very respectfully,
[Signature]

Very respectfully,
[Signature]
[Signature]
[Signature]

70.

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